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U.S. Sets 4 Goals to Avoid Snags at Economic Summit

By H. Erich Heinemann
New York Times Service
NEW YORK — The United States plans to pursue four main goals when the major industrial democracies hold economic talks later this month, according to a classified memorandum prepared by W. Allen Wallis, undersecretary of state for economic affairs.

Wallis states that the memo has been "approved in general terms" by President Ronald Reagan. The document was made available by a source outside the government.

The principal objectives for the summit are:

- Positive steps to fight protectionism, avoid predatory trade practices, resolve outstanding trade problems and pursue greater trade liberalization.
- Mr. Wallis wrote that "bold moves toward open markets are needed, but are certain to be resisted or so watered down as to lose meaning."
- "Agreement to a set of principles to guide our collective approach to problems of international debt and finance. The more than \$600 billion of debt owed by Third World nations, much of it now being renegotiated, represents a potential crisis which need not develop into an actual crisis, provided all participants cooperate."
- "Endorsement of the principles governing our future approach to East-West economic relations."

U.S. and Europe Cool To French Reform Call

By Axel Krane
International Herald Tribune
PARIS — Senior U.S. and West European officials expressed a mixture of skepticism and mild interest Tuesday in President Francois Mitterrand's proposal for calling a "new Bretton Woods" conference to promote international economic recovery.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz, addressing a news conference Tuesday evening, described the French president's proposal as "an eloquent statement" of Mr. Mitterrand's views.

Mr. Mitterrand proposed an international meeting to reform the world's monetary system, stabilize exchange rates and promote growth in developing countries during a reception Monday evening for officials attending the annual ministerial meeting of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in Paris.



A parish priest in Santa Cruz Tlapacoya, Mexico, searched the rubble of his church Monday after a fireworks explosion late Sunday demolished the building, killing 21 persons. Among 153 wounded, 26 were in serious condition. The town, 15 miles from Mexico City, had been celebrating the annual feast of the Holy Cross.

Red Cross Says Iran, Iraq Flout Geneva Codes

By Iain Guest
International Herald Tribune
GENEVA — The International Committee of the Red Cross has registered an exceptionally strong protest with the governments of Iran and Iraq over their treatment of prisoners and civilians in the Gulf war, accusing them of "grave and repeated breaches" of the Geneva Conventions.

In a statement delivered to the two governments Sunday, but which has not yet been made public here, the Red Cross charged Iran and Iraq with killing and mistreating their prisoners, abandoning and extending wounded enemies on the field of battle, deporting civilians en masse from captured territory and shelling civilians indiscriminately.

Reagan Meets Security Advisers To Weigh Shift in Talks at Geneva

The Associated Press
WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan met Tuesday with his national security advisers to consider shifting the American position in arms negotiations with the Soviet Union, while the president also pressed his case with Congress for deployment of the new MX missile.

The White House spokesman, Larry M. Speakes, would not comment directly on the meeting but said, "It is indeed possible that we may have modifications" in the U.S. proposal at the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks in Geneva.

An administration official, who asked that he not be identified, said the session with the security advisers "was not a decision-making session." He added that, by the time talks with the Soviet Union resume, the treaty that Mr. Reagan proposed a year ago may be altered.

The official said that proposed modifications — aimed at easing the key shift under consideration in Mr. Reagan's meeting with his advisers is how to change the current U.S. proposal that both sides reduce their existing forces to 850 missiles each.

One option involves increasing the 850-missile level somewhat. Another option, however, is to drop the missile level completely and have the United States rely instead on the number of missile warheads in each arsenal as the main measure.

Some of those attending from the OECD's 24 member nations also expressed annoyance at the manner in which the French leader made his proposal during a reception at the Elysee Palace.

"We were definitely a captive audience, with very little or no advance notice of the proposal," said one minister who attended the meeting. "It contains some ideas, as we can agree on, others we have reservations about and some we simply do not like at all."

Mr. Mitterrand and his aides have strongly indicated that the French leader would like to have the conference issues discussed at Williamsburg, although they said Tuesday that they did not expect summit leaders to make decisions on the proposal.

Speaking privately, U.S. officials expressed strong reservations about the French leader's call for a concerted governmental approach to stabilizing world commodity prices and intervening in the currency markets, actions aimed at what Mr. Mitterrand called "reconstruction of economic order" in the world.



President Francois Mitterrand, left, shaking hands with George P. Shultz, the American secretary of state, after they met for an hour Tuesday in the Elysee Palace in Paris.

Shultz Urges Russians to Back Lebanon Pact

By John M. Goshko
Washington Post Service
PARIS — U.S. Secretary of State George P. Shultz urged the Soviet Union on Tuesday "to get on the side of peace" and use its influence to help bring about withdrawal of Syrian forces from Lebanon.

Mr. Shultz made his appeal at a news conference here after a meeting of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Most of the questions were about the peace agreement negotiated by Mr. Shultz last week between Israel and Lebanon.

Draft Israeli-Lebanese Accord Is Result of 4 Months of Negotiations

The following article is based on reporting by David K. Shipler, Thomas L. Friedman and Bernard Gwertzman and was written by Mr. Gwertzman.

PARIS — The draft Israeli-Lebanese agreement on joint security arrangements, which may or may not survive either the outside pressures from Syria or its own fragility, was the result of more than four months of negotiations that reached a turning point in Beirut last Wednesday.

U.S. Secretary of State George P. Shultz had just asked Lebanon's leaders to accept a final draft that U.S. and Lebanese officials had worked out overnight.

Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan, the leading Moslem in the Lebanese government, who had been openly worried all morning about the terms of the accord, grew suddenly angry and told Mr. Shultz that the draft agreement contained so many concessions to the Israelis that Lebanon could not afford to agree to it.

Mr. Wazzan hesitated. But eventually, officials said, he acknowledged that the Lebanese had indeed agreed to the draft.

Mr. Shultz took the package — consisting of an 11-page agreement, an 11-page military annex and side letters from the United States to both Lebanon and Israel — with him to Israel for a climactic session with Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

Although Mr. Begin had not met Mr. Shultz before, they seemed to get along well from the start.

"It was all very proper, like a 19th-century friendship," a U.S. official said. "It was 'Mr. Prime Minister' and 'Mr. Secretary' throughout. But it seemed to work well. I think Begin wanted to give Shultz an agreement if it were at all possible."

In their final session Wednesday night, Mr. Shultz told Mr. Begin, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Defense Minister Moshe Arens that he had brought from Lebanon a final document. He said he could guarantee the Lebanese would sign it, if Israel approved it.

Polish Deputy Premier Is Strongly Criticized In a Soviet Journal

By John Kifner

WARSAW — One of the leading officials in General Wojciech Jaruzelski's government has been strongly criticized by the Soviet Union, and the attack has introduced a new element of uncertainty into Poland's political situation.

The criticism, in the Soviet journal *New Times*, was directed at Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski and was the strongest such attack since the imposition of martial law nearly 17 months ago.

Informants here said Monday that the article was a major factor in the indefinite postponing of a long-awaited meeting of the Polish Communist Party leadership scheduled in the next week to thrash out ideological differences.

The Soviet pressure is one of the elements of Poland's current politics — along with a simmering power struggle within the ruling Communist organization, a resurgent opposition in the streets, and the role of the Roman Catholic Church and the upcoming visit by Pope John Paul II — which have led to an uneasy and potentially volatile stalemate.

New Times, a Soviet ideological journal that is published in several languages, said the Polish party weekly *Polityka*, founded by Mr. Rakowski, was "allergic to real socialism."

The article, which criticized a number of Polish officials by name, was seen as strengthening the hand of hard-line, pro-Soviet elements within the Polish Communist Party, many of whom have been secretly opposed to what General Jaruzelski, the Polish leader, describes as his "economic reforms."

Among the officials attacked by New Times were Andrzej Werblan, a former Polish Communist Party ideologist; Jerzy Wiatr, a professor who directs the party's Marxist-Leninist Institute; and Daniel Pasent, a columnist and editor of *Polityka*.

While much of the maneuvering goes on behind a closely guarded facade, diplomats here discern a number of factions jostling for power.

In addition to the military men around General Jaruzelski, these include the party outsiders or "civilians," grouped around Mr. Rakowski; pro-Soviet hard-liners such as Tadeusz Grabski, now the Polish ambassador to East Germany; longtime survivors like Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski; party functionaries with their own interests to protect; and the security forces, which may themselves be divided into several groupings.

The so-called reformist elements within the party, as well as those sympathetic to the now-outlawed Solidarity independent labor union have largely resigned or been purged.

Rivalries within the party, infor-

mants here say, are likely to be exacerbated by the new political situation brought about by the success of the call by Solidarity's underground committee for anti-government demonstrations on May 1, the international workers' holiday.

Although the government had appeared for months to have crushed the Solidarity organization, tens of thousands of people demonstrated in a score of cities on May Day, sometimes clashing with the police. Two days later, thousands took to the streets again.

"Up to now, it appeared that the authorities could rule but not govern," a Western diplomat said. "Now, their ability to keep order must be questioned."

The role of the Roman Catholic Church and the impending visit in July of the Polish-born pope, an important factor in the political equation here. Tension in relations between the government authorities and the church has increased in recent days.

The government is said to be angry because last week's wave of demonstrations began at Masses. Church officials are deeply upset at an incident last week when secret police broke into a convent and beat six members of a church group who were aiding jailed Solidarity supporters.

The church hierarchy met after the attack and issued a strongly worded appeal calling for several government actions before the pope's visit — amnesty, the full lifting of martial law, the restoration of civil rights and jobs lost because of political beliefs.

General Jaruzelski, in a speech over the weekend, said that lasting cooperation with the church would come when it accepted "the socialist state," and complained of priests acting "under the influence of unbridled anti-communism or dire emotions."

The political tensions came as the government mounted a major publicity campaign around the weekend convention of what it is touting as a citizens' group that wants to heal the nation's wounds.

Indian Leftists Seek Jail in Bihar Protest
NEW DELHI — Thousands of leftist opposition political workers have voluntarily sought arrest in India's eastern state of Bihar as part of a week-long protest against alleged government corruption, the Press Trust of India news agency reported Tuesday.

Official reports from the state capital of Patna said more than 2,000 people "sought arrest" Monday, the agency said. A press release by eight leftist parties said 5,000 were arrested. Bihar is ruled by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Congress-I Party.



Gerd Heidemann, right, answered newsmen's questions about the faked Hitler diaries on Tuesday at his home in Hamburg. Mr. Heidemann's lawyer, Egon Geis, is at his side.

Pentagon Seeks Authority to Review Licenses for Export to Free World

By Michael Schrage

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — In a bid to increase its control over the flow of high technology into Eastern bloc nations, the Defense Department is seeking powers to review export licenses by U.S. companies that want to sell sensitive technology anywhere in the world.

The direct sale of such technologies to the Soviet Union, Eastern bloc countries and China.

"We would like to be in the loop in potentially risky areas for two reasons," a senior Pentagon official said. "One is to know where the [technology] leaks are coming from. That would be helpful because we have some leverage with local defense ministries. The other is to help us better understand where things are going in the open market. We want to know where the technology is headed."

Licenses to export high technology to countries outside the communist bloc are processed by the Commerce Department, which does not want daily Pentagon oversight, administration officials said.

The technologies are checked against a list of so-called "strategic commodities" that the Pentagon believes could be used to develop nuclear weapons.

According to the Department of Commerce, the Pentagon reviews roughly a third of the approximately 8,000 foreign export applications to communist bloc countries. License applications to the free world numbered 63,889 in 1981, and the Defense Department's move could quintuple the applications under its review, according to one expert.

The Pentagon now tracks the sales of high technology into the Eastern bloc through the Coordinating Committee, a NATO group that assesses before export what technologies are or are not critical for strategic superiority. According to a senior Pentagon official, the Defense Department is trying to "figure out a way to plug in more military input" into the Coordinating Committee's application process.

The Coordinating Committee is meeting in Paris as part of its triannual review of export guidelines.

A Commerce Department official said Monday that the Jackson Amendment of 1974 restricts the Pentagon to direct review of high-technology sales to the communist bloc. The Defense Department contends that the amendment permits oversight of free-world licenses. Richard N. Perle, assistant secretary of defense for national security and architect of the Pentagon's technology-transfer policy, drafted the Jackson Amendment in 1974, when he was an aide to the Henry M. Jackson, the Democratic senator from Washington state.

Lawrence Brady, assistant secretary of commerce for trade administration, said that the Pentagon had "asked to see commodities in some sensitive areas," adding that "defense has a legitimate role in the licensing effort." Mr. Brady said, however, that the precise nature of that role had not yet been negotiated.

A Defense Department official said he did not expect the Pentagon's participation in the review process to create additional delays, as some have warned.

"Imposing an additional review layer, no matter how efficient, will increase the already serious delays in free world license approvals," contended Donald Weadon, an international lawyer for several high-technology companies.

In effect, the Defense Department is seeking veto power over the export of sensitive technology to neutral and allied countries to prevent any diversion of that technology to the communist bloc.

The strategic commodities involved include computers, lasers, semiconductors and semiconductor fabrication technology. The Pentagon is authorized to monitor only

the direct sale of such technologies to the Soviet Union, Eastern bloc countries and China.

"We would like to be in the loop in potentially risky areas for two reasons," a senior Pentagon official said. "One is to know where the [technology] leaks are coming from. That would be helpful because we have some leverage with local defense ministries. The other is to help us better understand where things are going in the open market. We want to know where the technology is headed."

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Heidemann Fired Over Hitler Hoax

Dealer in Stuttgart Is Named as Source

By Paul Taylor

BONN — The West German reporter who obtained the fake Hitler diaries was fired Tuesday, and the publisher of *Stern* magazine said the documents came from a Stuttgart dealer who claimed to have connections to high-ranking East Germans.

The dismissal of Gerd Heidemann, 51, who had worked for *Stern* for 32 years, was announced Tuesday by a spokesman for the Hamburg-based publication. The magazine filed a fraud suit against Mr. Heidemann on Monday, three days after West German officials said the 62-volume "diary" was an obvious forgery.

Mr. Heidemann had claimed the documents survived a 1945 plane crash in what is now East Germany. At a news conference Tuesday in Hamburg, he insisted he had acted in good faith and said he had realized no financial gain in the affair. But he again refused to name the source of the papers.

Henri Nannen, the publisher of *Stern*, said Tuesday in Bonn that the magazine had learned the documents came from a man named Konrad Fischer, who deals in Nazi memorabilia.

Mr. Nannen said Mr. Fischer had claimed to have received the material from a relative, purportedly a general in the East German Army. "In fact, he turns out to be a railway station porter" in East Germany, Mr. Nannen said.

He said he believed East Germany had planted the papers in the West to create political unrest, but he gave no evidence for the accusation. East Germany has denied any involvement in the forgery.

Gerd Schultheissen, the chairman of *Stern's* publishing house, said the magazine paid 9 million Deutsche marks (about \$3.7 million) for the documents.

Several historians told *Reuters* that Mr. Fischer had offered them other material purportedly written by Hitler, including volumes of what was claimed to be his diaries.

Joachim Fest, a well-known West German biographer of Hitler, said he was one of those who had been offered material by Mr. Fischer.

U.S. Weighs Shift in Talks

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tion of the recommendations of the Scowcroft commission.

The president, some officials said, may withhold his final decision until after Congress votes on the new, multiple-warhead MX missile, which Mr. Reagan wants approved.

In the last two weeks, Mr. Reagan has been pressed by several senators and representatives to respond to the Scowcroft panel's recommendation that the White House "reassess" its strategic arms proposal to bring it into line with the commission's findings.

The present U.S. proposal calls for the United States and the Soviet Union to reduce their nuclear warheads to 5,000 each, down from about 7,500 now, said to limit the numbers of missiles to 850.

The Soviet Union currently has about 2,350 land- and submarine-based missiles, while the United States has about 1,600.

The commission called on the administration to change or eliminate those missile numbers because they provide an incentive to put as many warheads as possible on a single missile and thus detract from any move to less-threatening single-warhead missiles.

The panel and about a dozen lawmakers who have written to Mr. Reagan about the recommendation are all strong supporters of development of a small missile for the 1990s that would eventually succeed the 10-warhead MX, scheduled to be deployed in 1986. These lawmakers are all skeptical about the administration's enthusiasm for the small-missile program.

WORLD BRIEFS

Chernenko Out of Soviet Hospital

MOSCOW (AP) — Konstantin U. Chernenko, a political rival of the Soviet leader Yuri V. Andropov, was recently hospitalized with pneumonia, but was released from the hospital Friday, a woman at his office said Tuesday.

Mr. Chernenko, 71, has not been seen in public since March 30. He has missed four major public appearances, which prompted speculation that he had lost a power struggle with Mr. Andropov.

Hu Arrives in Belgrade for Talks

BELGRADE (UPI) — China's Communist Party leader, Hu Yaobang, traveled from Romania to neighboring Yugoslavia Tuesday on a trip underlining Beijing's support for the two independent-minded communist countries.

Milija Ribicic, president of nonaligned Yugoslavia's Communist Party, welcomed Mr. Hu, who arrived in Belgrade on a five-day visit from Bucharest.

In Bucharest, Mr. Hu completed talks with the president and party leader, Nicolae Ceausescu, on bilateral relations and major international questions. The two leaders reaffirmed their stands that interparty relations should be based on the mutual respect for the autonomy, equality and independence of each party.

Plan for 9 New West Bank Posts

JERUSALEM (UPI) — Nine new settlements will be established near the occupied West Bank town of Hebron as part of an ambitious project to move 100,000 Jews to the disputed region by 1986. Ze'ev Ben Yosef, a spokesman for the World Zionist Organization, said Tuesday.

Mr. Ben Yosef said that the proposal for the nine rural outposts in the Hebron hills would be presented to the Israeli cabinet ministerial settlement committee for approval later this month.

He said that four settlements already existed in the Hebron hills region and that six were under various stages of construction. The nine new settlements, he said, were to be completed within the next three years.

Czechs Bar N.Y. Times Reporter

ZURICH (NYT) — A correspondent for The New York Times has been barred from entering Czechoslovakia for refusing to allow security officials at the Prague airport to inspect his personal address book.

The correspondent, Henry Kamm, chief of the Rome bureau of The Times, told the Czechoslovak officials Monday that to allow the book to be inspected would be an infringement of the right of privacy and violate a journalist's duty not to disclose potential sources or contacts.

The book, Mr. Kamm said, contained no references to his Czechoslovak contacts.

Mr. Kamm had been issued a 10-day visa by the Czechoslovak Embassy in Rome to write an article on Milos Forman, who is directing the film version of "Amadeus." The filming is taking place in Czechoslovakia. It is Mr. Forman's first movie in his native country since he left in 1968 and became a U.S. citizen.

Thatcher Cancels Washington Trip

LONDON (Reuters) — Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has cancelled a planned visit to Washington from May 26 to May 28 because of the forthcoming British election, according to a statement released by her office Tuesday.

But she left open the possibility of attending the seven-nation economic summit at Williamsburg, Virginia, from May 28 to May 30, Tuesday's statement said, that a decision on British representation at the meeting would be made later.

Mrs. Thatcher had been due to visit Washington prior to the summit meeting to confer with President Ronald Reagan and to receive an award for encouraging Anglo-American cooperation.

For the Record

LISBON (UPI) — Mario Soares, the Socialist Party leader, and his Social Democratic counterpart, Carlos Mota Pinto, met Tuesday to start negotiations on the formation of a coalition government following a general election 15 days ago.

MADRID (Reuters) — A Madrid court issued a warrant Tuesday for the arrest of Jose Maria Ruiz Mateos, former head of Spain's largest private holding group, Rumsa, after he failed to answer two summonses to testify on charges of fraud in the company, a court official said. The government took over Rumsa in February, citing financial irregularities.

SUNDSVALL, Sweden (Reuters) — The Swedish Navy has scaled down its hunt for two foreign submarines it said it had been searching for for 13 days off this northern port, a defense staff spokesman said Tuesday. He said the navy believed the vessels had left the area.

Israeli-Lebanese Accord Took 4 Months of Talks

(Continued from Page 1)

The Israelis had sought "open borders" for goods and people. The Lebanese, afraid of reactions in the Arab world, were reluctant to go that far. Instead, there is agreement for passage between the two countries at two designated entry points. Specific negotiations on future relations will begin within six months after a withdrawal of Israeli forces begins.

In the meantime, discussions about current trade and travel will be handled by the Joint Liaison Committee, which will have representatives of Lebanon, Israel and the United States. But all decisions of the committee must be unanimous, giving Lebanon a veto in protect its sovereignty on key issues.

The Lebanese wanted the United States represented on all joint committees and subcommittees to offset the Israelis. The Israelis said they did not think that was necessary. Under the compromise, either side can invite the United States to any committee meeting. The Lebanese have said they will extend a permanent invitation to the United States and the United States has agreed to accept it on a permanent basis.

On the issue of Major Haig, Mr. Shultz secured the agreement of Mr. Gemayel to appoint him as the officer in charge of intelligence and anti-terrorism in the south, but not as commander, as sought by the Israelis.

Assuming the Lebanese parliament formally approves the draft agreement, the next step for the Americans is to help the Lebanese get Arab and other backing for a Syrian withdrawal.

Mr. Shultz said Sunday it was inconceivable that this can happen without a U.S. official flying around the Middle East. The most likely candidate is Mr. Shultz himself, but he said, "I am not bidding for the job."

Actual combat roles in southern Lebanon would be reserved for the Lebanese Army, but to ease the Israeli concerns about the effectiveness of the Lebanese, the U.S. Special Forces, known as the Green Berets, will be in charge of training two companies of Lebanese troops charged with rooting out guerrillas.

The compromise he finally put forth, and which was accepted by the two sides, included the following items:

To overcome the problem of Israeli intervention in southern Lebanon, Mr. Shultz proposed that there be up to eight joint "verification" teams of Lebanese and Israeli, commanded by Lebanese and traveling in Lebanese vehicles, which would check up on possible infractions.

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Salvadoran troops unload an empty coffin in the town of El Zapote, northeast of San Salvador, after more than 50 soldiers died in clashes with guerrillas in the area.

Salvador Accord Eludes House Panel

By Martin Tolchin
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Democrats on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, divided over military aid to El Salvador, were unable to reach a compromise at a 90-minute meeting.

The dispute Monday involved the question of requiring presidential certification that El Salvador had taken specific steps to end human rights violations and to negotiate unconditionally with the Salvadoran rebels. A Foreign Affairs subcommittee approved such certification as a condition for the \$86.3 million that the administration seeks for El Salvador in the 1984 fiscal year, which begins Oct. 1.

But some committee members would merely require that El Salvador prepare a plan containing objectives satisfactory to the Congress. They contended it was unrealistic to expect the Salvadoran government to have taken specific steps in time to receive the additional U.S. aid.

A proposed compromise would provide half the financing immediately and the remainder after six months, pending El Salvador's submission of a plan. If Congress found the Salvadoran response unsatisfactory, it would have 30 days to cut off aid under a veto by both houses. The compromise was proposed by Representative Dan B. Rostenkowski of Illinois, the committee's second-ranking Democrat, who is author of the plan that would require objectives rather than specific steps.

Representative Stephen J. Solari, a New York Democrat who was the author of the plan to require presidential certification, said he would accept the compromise with two exceptions: that the president certify that El Salvador had begun efforts toward an "unconditional dialogue" with the

rebels and that aid be conditional on approval by both Houses rather than be subject to their possible veto.

As approved by the Foreign Affairs subcommittee, additional aid to El Salvador would be conditional on presidential certification that the Salvadoran government had initiated an unconditional dialogue with the rebels, had ended the abduction and slayings of dissidents; had made progress on land redistribution; and had begun the trials of those accused of killing four American churchwomen and two labor officials.

Troops Approach Town
Salvadoran government forces advanced Monday to within about three miles (4.8 kilometers) of the town of Cinquera, which was overrun Sunday by guerrillas, United Press International reported from San Salvador.

Colonel Roberto Rodriguez Murcia, commander of the garrison in nearby Sensuntepeque, led a force of about 800 men toward Cinquera, which was being held by an estimated 600 guerrillas. Cinquera is 20 miles northeast of San Salvador and near a major hydroelectric dam.

Government artillery was fired throughout the day Monday on suspected guerrilla positions from the town of Tejutepetec, while U.S.-supplied A-37 jets flew bombing raids, reporters in the area said.

Colonel Rodriguez Murcia, interviewed in Tejutepetec, said the guerrillas had killed 21 soldiers in Cerro de Mesas and 36 more in Cinquera. He said 16 guerrillas had been killed in villages just south of Cinquera.

The rebels' clandestine Radio Venceremos said Monday that 60 soldiers had been killed or wounded in and around Cinquera.

Insurgency in Colombia Is at a Crucial Juncture

By Jackson Diehl
Washington Post Service

FLORENCIA, Colombia — Aquilino Torres was working his tiny plot in a jungle river settlement near here one day in 1981 when a column of the M-19, a leftist guerrilla group, came and plucked him up.

A commercial plane hijacked by the insurgents and packed with arms had just crash-landed in the jungle nearby, and the M-19, Mr. Torres said, "needed people to unload."

"They said it would only be two days' work," Mr. Torres said in the raspy, slurred Spanish of this region's poor farmers. "But then the Army came with the repression, and they knew who had gone along. I was afraid to go back."

In this way, Mr. Torres, 38, a peasant with a family of six and no notion of politics, became one of the thousands swept up in Colombia's seemingly endless guerrilla wars. The conflicts have bled this country of lives and development for more than 25 years.

There are about 3,000 armed guerrillas operating through the country, and they are said to receive support from Cuba and Libya. But the Reagan administration, with its eyes on problems to the north of here, is seeking to transfer the 1983 military aid it earmarked for Colombia to El Salvador. And in this wild region of mountains and jungle, the history

of violence is reaching a potentially crucial juncture.

Under a major new program, millions of dollars in government development aid is being poured into this area, and an unconditional amnesty has been extended to guerrillas both in the field and in the jails.

Once trapped between aggressive guerrilla fronts and the avenging army, thousands of cattlemen, farmers and poor peasants like Mr. Torres are being offered a slim chance to start over.

"It is the first step in a long process," said Nelson Valencia Mendez, the mayor of Florencia. He is helping Mr. Torres secure a loan for the equivalent of \$5,700 to buy land under one of the new "pacification" programs.

The effort to pacify Florencia and the sprawling Caquetá department around it is part of a nation-

wide program that has become both the centerpiece of President Belisario Betancur's Conservative government and a potential model for other Latin American countries.

Mr. Betancur created a special peace commission in September and has since pushed a program of amnesty, dialogue with guerrilla leaders and wide-ranging political and economic reforms.

The results have been mixed. While many guerrilla leaders at first accepted the program and curbed their violent activities, major sectors of the armed movement, including most of the M-19, recently announced their intention to return to war. Since the amnesty became law last November, more than 100 persons, including 39 soldiers, have died in the violence.

There are six major leftist guerrilla groups in the region around

Florencia, each with 60 to 80 fighters under a decentralized command. Cattlemen taking refuge in Florencia say the guerrillas regularly force them to pay a fee for each acre of land or head of cattle.

The military, in turn, is accused by church-based human rights workers of acting arbitrarily and with undue force. Leaders of a human rights committee in Caquetá say they documented 164 civilian deaths at the hands of the army between late 1979 and mid-1982.

Mayor Valencia said he has a file of 250 statements signed by guerrillas who have accepted the amnesty. Many, he said, have been put to work in municipal programs to repair schools and build new roads, funded by part of a \$240-million, four-year budget for the "rehabilitation" of Caquetá.

Coaxed by Mr. Valencia and Florencia's archbishop, José Luis

Serna, several of the guerrilla fronts have continued to support publicly the new reform programs and to avoid violence. Many of the guerrillas trickling into the city seem grateful for the chance to return from the uncomfortable and hazardous life of a guerrilla fighter to steady jobs.

At the same time, some guerrilla leaders have threatened new offensives and overtly sought to undermine the peace efforts. In February, a faction of the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces ambushed a military convoy.

Meanwhile, many local army officials, contemptuous of the amnesty program, have continued efforts to fight even those guerrillas who have called for a truce.

Many community leaders fear that the civilian officials and conciliatory guerrillas will be crushed by the two extremes.

U.S. Reduces Nicaragua's Sugar Quota 90%

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration is sharply reducing Nicaragua's sugar sales in the United States and sharing the extra quota among three friendly Central American states, administration officials said Tuesday.

El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica are to be given most of Nicaragua's share of the lucrative U.S. sugar trade, worth an additional \$14 million to them, the officials said.

The decision to apply economic pressure against Nicaragua was made by the National Security Council, they added, and endorsed by President Ronald Reagan.

In Managua, the Foreign Ministry said Monday the United States had told Nicaragua that the move stemmed from its hostile rhetoric against Washington, its alleged military backing for guerrillas in El Salvador and its unwillingness to take part in talks to ease tensions in Central America.

The U.S. ambassador to Nicaragua, Anthony Quainton, told the ministry that the annual import from Nicaragua would be cut from 51,789 tons to 6,000 beginning Oct. 1.

U.S. Determination Seen
Earlier, Lou Cannon and Margot Hornblower of The Washington Post reported from Washington:

The action against Managua is considered more of a warning than a decisive economic blow, since the sugar earnings were only 3 percent of Nicaragua's export sales.

Beyond the economic consequences, the action was seen as a demonstration of the president's resolve in Central America. Mr. Reagan has chafed against last week's action by a House committee, which voted to cut off U.S. support for anti-Sandinist guerrillas in Nicaragua, calling the move "irresponsible" and charging that it would handcuff the executive branch.

The House on Monday moved cautiously on its own course of questioning administration activities in the region. The Foreign Affairs Committee reported out a resolution calling on

Mr. Reagan to provide more information on U.S.-financed covert activities in Nicaragua. The committee is to vote Thursday on the resolution approved last week by the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence to cut off U.S. funds for covert activities.

Last week, the intelligence panel gave a negative recommendation to the resolution calling for more information.

The committee acted after receiving a warning from Powell A. Moore, assistant secretary of state for congressional relations, who wrote that the resolution was "unnecessary and potentially disruptive to an established system of information-sharing that has proven to be mutually beneficial to the executive and legislative branch."

Security Council Debate
Nicaragua went before the Security Council again Monday with its case that Mr. Reagan's admission of support for anti-Sandinist "freedom fighters" constitutes "a declaration of war" and a violation of international law. The Washington Post reported.

Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick, the U.S. representative to the United Nations, contended that "there is no American invasion of Nicaragua. The problem for Nicaragua is Nicaragua. In Nicaragua, Nicaraguans are fighting Nicaraguans."

Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann, Nicaragua's foreign minister, asserted that Mr. Reagan's "confessions" at his news conference Wednesday gave the Sandinists an opening to bring his case to the Security Council for the second time in six weeks.

The last debate ended Monday

without a resolution or a vote. On Tuesday, the council canceled its meeting on the complaint and set no date for a resumption of discussion. Nicaragua appeared to be pressing for a vote in the current round of debate, however.



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U.S. Social Programs of 1960s Destroyed Economy, Reagan Says

By Steven R. Weisman
New York Times Service

ASHLAND, Ohio — Food stamps, the minimum wage, federal urban renewal and the entire array of Great Society programs enacted in the 1960s destroyed the U.S. economy and made Americans poorer than they were 15 years ago, according to President Ronald Reagan.

In a speech here Monday, Mr. Reagan also likened the rise of government programs in the last 50 years to the "abuse of power" by King George III of England that brought on the American Revolution.

Mr. Reagan made one of his broadest philosophical attacks on modern government since taking office in the speech at the John M. Ashbrook memorial dinner. Mr. Ashbrook, a conservative who represented this north-central Ohio area in Congress for 22 years, died a year ago.

"The president said 'the central political error of our time' was the Democrats' view that 'government and bureaucracy' were 'the primary vehicle for social change.'"

He cited only two areas as appropriate for an increased federal role: national security and crime prevention.

Speaking of crime, Mr. Reagan deplored the "steadily shrinking number of federal personnel devoted to law enforcement and said his administration had 'reversed this trend' by adding investigators and prosecutors to combat drug abuse and organized crime."

He also defended his administration's military buildup and called on Congress to approve money for construction of the MX missile this year.

"We are not building missiles to fight a war," Mr. Reagan said. "We are building missiles to preserve the peace."

The president spoke as White House officials said he was preparing for meetings with congressional skeptics this week on the MX program. Several in Congress have questioned the administration's commitment to arms control, and Mr. Reagan said he would pursue "vigorous arms control" along with "the modernization of our strategic forces."

Rejection of the MX funds, he said, "will have dealt a blow to our national security that no foreign power would ever have been able to accomplish."

On the role of government, Mr. Reagan said that in 1776, "the source of government's excess was the Crown's abuse of power and its attempt to suffocate the colonists with its overbearing demands."

"In our own day," he continued, "the danger of too much state power has taken subtler but no less dangerous forms. Out of the best intentions, government has intervened in areas where it is neither competent, nor needed, nor wanted by the mass of Americans."

Mr. Reagan's speech was what advisers termed "Vintage Reagan," with its emphasis on the broad conservative generalizations that have characterized his career for 20 years.

The president made no specific references to the difficulties he is having even among Republicans in winning approval for his newest proposal to limit federal government by cutting programs across the board.

Moreover, at a time when he is thought to be losing support in the industrial Middle West, Mr. Reagan spoke to a like-minded audience at a fund-raiser for the new John M. Ashbrook Center for Public Affairs at Ashland College, a small liberal arts school.

Mr. Reagan praised Mr. Ashbrook for "a long, hard and frequently losing battle against the encroachments and the intrusions of big government." He said the lawmaker had been "ahead of his time" but had lived to see conservatism become "the dominant force in American political and intellectual life."

Mr. Reagan's talk was an occasion for him to touch his philosophical roots in a small Middle Western town — where his motorcycle was greeted warmly by hundreds of residents lining the streets — before returning to Washington for more battles with Congress over the particulars of his conservative spending and military proposals.

Justice Powell Urges Action to End 'Intolerable' Backlog on Death Row

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Citing an "intolerable" backlog of more than 1,000 prisoners on death row, Justice Lewis F. Powell Jr. of the U.S. Supreme Court has urged the courts and Congress to end the long delays and repetitive appeals that he said have stalled implementation of capital punishment sentences.

If the death penalty cannot be implemented more efficiently, Justice Powell said Monday, states should abolish it. His comments, prepared for delivery to a conference of judges of the 11th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, were among the strongest off-the-bench remarks by a justice on the subject of the death penalty.

Justice Powell placed part of the blame on resourceful defense lawyers who, he said, take "every advantage of a system that irrationally permits abuse" of the process.

"The primary fault lies with our permissive system," he said, "that both Congress and the courts tolerate."

He said that Congress should consider legislation to "inhibit unlimited filings" of habeas corpus petitions, in which prisoners protest their sentences or convictions long after exhausting the regular appeals process.

Following a Republican caucus, Mr. Domenici said, "We made some progress, but it's hard to quantify it."

A Republican leadership aide said many Republicans at the caucus urged the moderates to introduce their budget plan and put it up for a vote. Apparently, the theory was that a defeat of that proposal might create more support for the leadership compromise.

At the White House, Mr. Reagan, in remarks broadcast to business groups in 42 cities, restated his opposition to any change in the scheduled tax cut. "I'm digging in my heels against those who would put us back on a dead-end

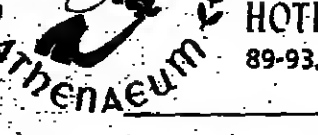
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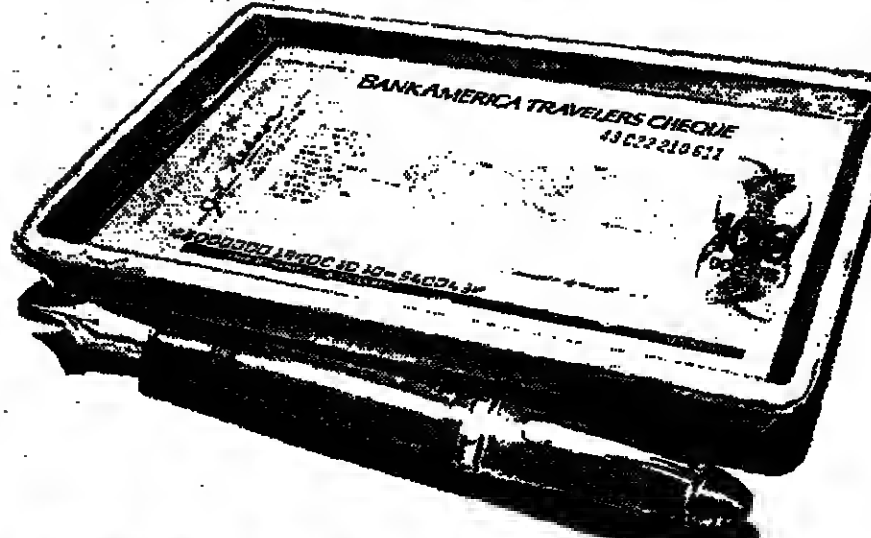
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Jelly Roll

Free Jazz Makes Waves in Russia

By Michael Zwerin
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — "Jazz was invented in Odessa by Jelly Roll Minskov," a Russian jazz musician once told an American peer.

The Russian was not smiling. The brass Jewish wedding bands that were active in Odessa around the turn of the century played music that had remarkable similarities with the blues, and they improvised.

The American looked skeptical. The Russian continued: "Okay, tell me — under what condition was American jazz born?"

The American hesitated: "Slavery?"

The Russian shrugged his shoulders: "Vollä!"

In October 1980, the Vyacheslav Ganelin trio — playing in the West for the first time — was the bit of the Berlin Jazz Days. The critic Joachim E. Berendt wrote about them in Down Beat: "Many listeners perceived this music as a cry for freedom. They asked themselves how much suffering you must endure before your rebellious cry assumes such proportions."

In a review of last year's Moscow jazz festival, the newspaper Le Monde remarked: "Improvised music is doing well in the land of Lenin." The weekly magazine Soviet Culture recently explored the "national problem" in jazz, concluding that many Soviet musicians have found a way to express their "Slavic spirit."

Leo Feigin is a Russian émigré whose small company, Leo Records, based in Middlesex, England, releases albums by Russian jazz groups, mostly from unauthorized tapes. "The musicians do not bear any responsibility for publishing these tapes," he says on some of the jackets. Feigin, who was in Paris recently for the Salon de Jazz, considers his album of the Ganelin trio, "Live in East Germany," their masterpiece. Brian Case reviewed it in Melody Maker: "This bootleg concert recording is one of the most exciting events that free music has ever staged. . . . The spirit of jazz is alive and well in the U.S.S.R."

Before free jazz, Feigin said, "Russians were good copiers but they were playing somebody else's music. Free jazz discarded harmony, tonality and the strict rhythm of traditional jazz. With the appearance of the new music, Russian jazz began to develop its own identity."

Formed 12 years ago in their home town of Vilnius, Lithuania, the Ganelin trio consists of Ganelin on keyboards, Vladimir Tarasov on percussion, and Vladimir Cherkasov on saxophone. "The only other free group that has stayed together as long as the Art Ensemble of Chicago," Feigin pointed out: "They have established incredible rapport. Knowing each other so well allows them to take ultimate improvisational risks. Their structures are very rigid but they go from point to point with entirely unpredictable moods."

"Ganelin writes operas and film scores and is a member of the Soviet composers' union," Karasov is self-taught, he is the glue holding the trio together. They call Cherkasov "the peasant." He's a straightforward man who plays his guts out.

"American musicians who have heard them, Steve Lacy, for example, praise the Ganelin trio highly, though somewhat bewildered about Russians playing this music so well. John Fordham wrote in the London Guardian: 'Ganelin is a fascinating pianist, who has much of the crisp and pointed articulation of late '60s Herbie Hancock.' Francis Davis wrote in Musician Magazine: 'It was curiosity that drew me to these records in the U.S.S.R., but it's the nerve and skill of the musicians that makes me anxious to hear more.' Mito Fine in Cadence magazine wrote: 'This music puts a lot of contemporary American creative music to shame.'"

The trio is by now established and tours the Soviet Union extensively; the official government Goseconcert booking agency sends them abroad. They played in Dortmund, West Germany, in 1981, gave six concerts in Italy in June 1982, will play in Dortmund again sometime between May 20 and 23, according to Feigin. "The musicians themselves did not know the exact dates the last time I contacted them and I have no way of reaching them now." They have been invited to tour Britain in March 1984 under the auspices of the Arts Council.

"The state-owned label Melodya has issued three Ganelin albums," Feigin said. "But they pressed maybe 10,000 copies and they were sold out the first day." The trio is very popular among young intellectuals in the Soviet Union, he says, but Melodya releases Ganelin's records reluctantly. "The consumer pressure is so strong they cannot restrain it, but officials do not understand this music, it is totally alien to the Soviet system."

He sees Ganelin's work as the continuation of the great Russian musical tradition, following Scriabin, Tchaikovsky, Stravinsky. "Perhaps people inside Russia cannot see it that way, they are too close. I am an outsider now and I say that Russian jazz will be the jazz of the '80s and '90s."

The reason this music is so significant, Feigin says, is because "improvised" music is the only art form that cannot be censored. Censorship permeates every level of Soviet life, but not with improvisation, because by definition it hap-

pens right in front of people at the very moment.

"The Soviets have not been able to define an official attitude towards improvised music. They can see possible political capital in the fact that jazz was started by oppressed blacks in the United States. But on the other hand it comes from the West and that makes it immediately bad; whatever comes from the West is bourgeois propaganda. They don't know what to do with it."

"When I released the first Ganelin album over two years ago and told people it was Russian jazz, all I got was pity and smiles. People thought I was mad. 'What is this loony talking about, jazz from Russia?' Maybe I was mad. But it was ignorance that made them laugh. Because now, I can tell you, nobody thinks I'm mad any more."



Ganelin trio (from left): Vladimir Tarasov, Vyacheslav Ganelin and Vladimir Cherkasov.

Hugues Gall Revitalizes the Geneva Opera

By Andrew Clark
International Herald Tribune

GENEVA — Opera at the Grand Théâtre here is no longer just fashionable. It has become extremely popular. Overnight ticket lines are not unknown, and in the last three seasons a number of productions have assumed the status of an international operatic event.

The success story stems largely from the administrative and artistic policies of Hugues Gall, who was second in command at the Paris Opera under Rolf Liebermann until he came to Geneva three years ago. At times he has backed the wrong horse, and there have been extravagant losses on dubious artistic foundations. But even the failures have been interesting, and on the basis that you can't expect to win every time, the record has been very clear for an art form where the dividing line between success and failure is thin.

Gall has been helped by a fat budget and broadly spread stage system, allowing up to seven new productions each season. Most important, however, he is master of his own house. There is no music director, and the orchestra, the Suisse Romande or the Lausanne Chamber Orchestra, is booked for each production separately. Having gathered a production team and cast of his choice, Gall then gives them artistic freedom and material and moral support.

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RSC's 'Shrew' Is Very Tame

By Sheridan Motley
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — In their palatial new surroundings at the Barbican, the Royal Shakespeare Company has developed a curious obsession with extremely oisly ladies: Last week it was Helen Mirren as "The Roaring Girl." This week it's Sinead Cusack as Kate in "The Taming of the Shrew."

Both productions are by Barry Kyle and bear certain similarities. Both are, for a start, oddly apologetic: Kyle would seem to be saying that he knows the RSC has been run for years by a lot of boring Cambridge academics with fixations on the text, and that here at last is a showman intent on giving the customers a jolly good evening even if they haven't the faintest idea what is going on.

Accordingly, he fills his stage with subplots. Characters are glimpsed at upstairs windows apparently involved in some altogether different play, while exits and entrances are made on the run and scenes are set in the assumption that an audience has an attention span of 30 seconds. Not being averse to a little showmanship, I ought to welcome this. The problem is that it is counterproductive.

Precisely because there is so much going on, the production lasts virtually 3½ hours — at least an hour too long. You might just take "Lean" at that length, but "The Taming of the Shrew," that lightest of comedies, even allowing for anti-feminist overtones, dies at anything over about 2½.

There is also a lot of sexual agony here: Neither director nor cast seems to have reached any real conclusions about whether or not this can be made to look like a feminist play. It doesn't matter whether you play Petruchio as the male chauvinist pig of all time, or whether you play him against the text as a rather more subtle and liberal lover who has chosen to win Kate by fighting her with her own

aggressive weapons. What does matter is that you make that decision early in rehearsal and stick to it: Kyle and his cast seem still to be making up their minds.

Still, there is Cusack as a lyrical and lovable Kate, partnered by Alun Armstrong as a somewhat undercast Petruchio. Then there is a lot of falling off the stage and

into pools of water, and a feeling that the cast would have been happier doing the show as "Kiss Me Kate," thereby taking on the National at their "Guys and Dolls" best. Given those Cole Porter songs, a "Shrew" at this length might be barely tolerable; without them, Kyle's best effects are submerged in the sprawling mess that is the rest of the production.

For reasons that have never been clear to me, Harold Pinter's "Betrayal" has always been dismissed by addicts of the pause-master as a very minor work. Even his definitive chronicle, Martin Esslin, calls it "a trivial tale of adultery," and I have to admit that on first review calling it a National production in 1978 I called its nine scenes from unfaithful married life "empty."

Having had the chance to see it again (in an efficient if uninspired production by Gary Raymond at the Greenwich) I would now like to qualify that first impression. True, this is very untypical Pinter: the straightest of romances in which a wife, husband and lover start from the end and work their way back through a relationship to the beginning. But apart from that timeswitch, this is a glossy stage triangle lacking the ambiguity or menace of Pinter's earlier work.

In that sense, it is closer to some of Pinter's film writing (or to his work as a director of Simon Gray) than to anything that we have come to understand as Pinteresque. Seeing this new production, in

which Raymond and his wife, Susan Farmer, work with the superb Edward Hardwicke at the other corner of the triangle, it struck me that this might well turn out to be one of the most enduring boulevard pieces of our time.

Essentially, it's a modern "Design for Living," and it may be no coincidence that we've recently also had that from the Greenwich: a play about three people locked together by their inability to live apart. It is all about appearance, and Coward might have been proud to think that he, however indirectly, had inspired it. Both plays were, I would imagine, written out of more personal experience than their authors usually allowed into their work, and both occupy similar positions outside the main body of their creators' work.

To open the new Barbican season in the basement pit has come the premiere of Nick Darke's "The Body," a play of such mind-bending awfulness that it could be dismissed altogether were it not that its heart is in the right place. It is an anti-ocular parable, but so chaotic is the author's sense of drama and so absolute his belief that an audience will sit through anything as long as it is worthy that this makes a truly terrible evening, taking down with it even such an admirable actor as Derek Godfrey.

U.K. Show Still Sinking

The Associated Press

LONDON — Viewing figures for "Good Morning Britain," the troubled breakfast-time program on British commercial independent television, have sunk to a new low. The Broadcasters' Audience Research Board said that for the week ending May 1, it was watched by 200,000 people, a drop of a third from the week before. The rival British Broadcasting Corp. morning show had 1.7 million viewers.

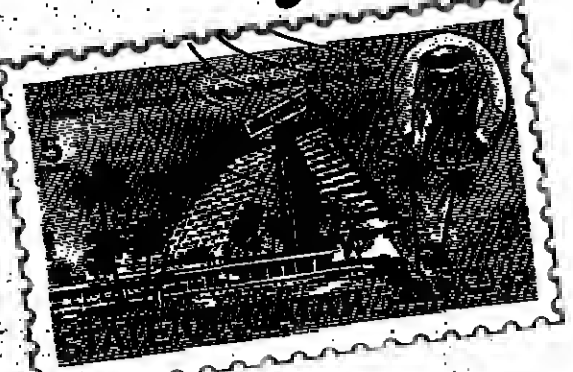
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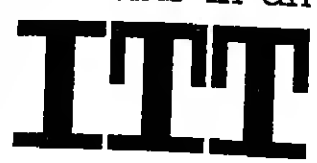
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INSIGHTS

Harry Oppenheimer of S. Africa: A Capitalist Who Seeks Reform

By Joseph Lelyveld

New York Times Service

JOHANNESBURG — In an oracular vein, an academic named Chester A. Crocker once said of South Africa: "That country is by its nature a part of the West. It is an integral and important element of the Western global, economic system."

Mr. Crocker, who has since become the State Department's top Africa hand and author of the Reagan administration's policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa's white-minority government, was openly embracing a premise found in both South African propaganda and the arguments of Marxist analysts: that the West's formal condemnation of apartheid masks a huge stake in the outcome of the shadowy struggle between the races there.

"Historically," he acknowledged, "South Africa is by its nature a part of us." Of course, it might also be said to be "by its nature" a part of Africa. But then the Reagan administration's man on Africa didn't mean to be talking race; he was talking power, economics and ideology. He was talking of a South Africa that deserves to be called, as he elsewhere noted, "the Saudi Arabia of minerals." Mindful that race and power have been indivisible throughout South African history, he was nevertheless trying to straddle the two realities of racial politics and mineral wealth.

Washington has thus followed the example and fulfilled the hopes of the most effective practitioner of "constructive engagement" over the last quarter-century. That is Harry Frederick Oppenheimer, a corporate dynast who has made control of the world's richest gold and diamond deposits the basis for a multinational mining and industrial conglomerate, with assets that the British magazine *The Economist* has put at \$15 billion.

Economic Ties Strengthened

While racial policies he abhorred were plunging South Africa into military and political isolation from the West, Harry Oppenheimer, more than anyone else, has managed to preserve and strengthen the economic ties binding Johannesburg to Western financial centers. His influence has had plenty to do with the vast resources his group controls and the pattern of its far-flung investments, which now can be traced in North America from zinc and copper mines in the Yukon to natural gas deposits in Midland, Texas.

But it also has to do with his personal standing in New York and London as a concerned liberal and business statesman, bearing the comforting message, in elegantly turned speeches he writes himself, that more investment and more growth are the surest antidotes to racial oppression.

Hardly an advocate of black power, he has been a consistent opponent of racial discrimination and police-state methods. As such, he embodies many of the ambiguities — Marxists would call them "contradictions" — that are inherent in "constructive engagement" with apartheid.

For all the years he has been the acknowledged exemplar of free enterprise in South Africa, his companies have also been the worst of the largest private employers of migrant labor under a harsh system of indenture that makes it impossible for roughly 80 percent of their quarter of a million black employees to establish a right of residence where they work or live with their families.

Yet his opposition to the system on which his fortune was seemingly based — expressed in a readiness to advocate full trade-union rights for blacks when that idea was still regarded as subversive — has kept alive, even visibly advanced, the notion that the system could reform itself.

Elected to Parliament

If this were really Saudi Arabia, Harry Oppenheimer would qualify as head of the House of Saud. But his grip on the country's resources has never been translated into effective political power. He got elected to Parliament in 1948 at the age of 40, but it was just the wrong time, the year the tide of white politics turned, sweeping to power the Afrikaner Nationalists who have ruled ever since.

Later, after withdrawing from active politics, he threw his moral and financial backing to the relatively liberal Progressive Party, standing by it for 13 years it had only one representative in the all-white Parliament — the redoubtable Helen Suzman, who battled apartheid and the buildup of arbitrary state power at every turn.

Yet, as the leading force in the mainly English-speaking business community, Mr. Oppenheimer has personified the one power center the government party has ever quite managed to dominate. For many years, relations between the two power centers were correct and somewhat distant, as between neighboring principalities with an historic antagonism but an undeniable mutual dependence.

The Nationalists gradually learned to depend on Harry Oppenheimer to save them from the economic consequences of their own policies. After the shooting of unarmed blacks at Sharpeville 23 years ago prompted a catastrophic flight of Western capital, it was Mr. Oppenheimer's Anglo American Corp. that developed a decade earlier in the Orange Free State — that spurred the recovery and began South Africa's emergence as a sophisticated industrial state.

Relationship Is Symbiotic

In a sense, Anglo American had little option then but to diversify beyond mining and invest at home, for the government clamped rigid exchange controls on the country. But that period, which provides the most vivid example of the group's symbiotic relationship with the authorities, was also Mr. Oppenheimer's finest hour as an entrepreneur.

"He always sees the way out," said Julian Ogilvie Thompson, Mr. Oppenheimer's likely successor as chairman of De Beers Consolidated Mines, the great diamond cartel that remains one of the pillars of the group. Later, as anti-apartheid lobbies in the West called for boycotts and embargoes, Harry Oppenheimer's prestige, persuasiveness and business pluck helped to bring Western capital and technology flowing back to South Africa.

Fleet Street long ago tagged South Africa's most powerful capitalist as "the King of Diamonds." The playing-card image accords poorly with the modest and cultivated figure he presents. It also undervalues him in a corporate sense, for even though De Beers controls the marketing of an estimated 80 percent of the world's diamonds, that is far from being his whole hand.

In South Africa, one can never forget gold: The mine runs by the Anglo American Corp., which Mr. Oppenheimer, at 74, still controls, although he no longer sits on its board — account for a full 40 percent of the country's output (and therefore 25 percent of the non-communist vote). Add in the mines in which his



Harry Oppenheimer

companies have sizable holdings without management, and these percentages soar.

He is also king of platinum, vanadium and uranium. Companies in his domain are leading producers of coal, steel, nonferrous metals, pulp and paper, automobiles, fruit, wine. They have major banking, insurance and real-estate holdings. In all, it has been estimated, they account for roughly half the value of South Africa's exports and half the value of the shares traded on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. And that is only South Africa.

Anglo American is the leading corporate presence in Zimbabwe. De Beers runs the diamond mines of Namibia, Botswana, Tanzania and — very discreetly — Angola, whose government regularly funds itself under South African military assault. (Even more discreetly, De Beers has an arrangement with Moscow, which markets most of the Soviet Union's diamonds through the corporation's London-based Central Selling Organization.) On paper, Anglo American's holdings in Zambia remain huge, although the dividends that can be banked outside Zambia are meager.

Despite South Africa's exchange controls, the group has managed in recent years to build up large holdings in the United States and Canada through the Bermuda-based Minerals and Resources Corp., known as Minorco, which has a lengthening list of interests that include coal in Appalachia, copper in Arizona, fertilizer in Iowa and investment banking on Wall Street through Salomon Brothers.

The Oppenheimer empire is not easily surveyed, for it is a puzzle of majority and minority holdings in companies that are directly or indirectly controlled through pyramided holding companies, which also have bewildering cross-holdings. (Thus, De Beers and Anglo American are the largest holders of each other's shares.)

Family Keeping Control

The Oppenheimer family interest is maintained through a firm called E. Oppenheimer and Son that owns 6.3 percent of Anglo American; this provides enough leverage, along with the personal holdings of the Oppenheimers as individuals, for the family to keep control.

When Mr. Oppenheimer stepped down as chairman of Anglo American at the end of last year, after 25 years in that post, he installed his only son, Nicholas, as a deputy chairman and retained for the time being the chairmanship of De Beers, the largest shareholder. The question of control never arose.

Guests at Harry Oppenheimer's personal worth seem to dip below \$200 million; in boom times, the figure of half a billion is heard, but it is only a number plucked from the stratosphere.

Mr. Oppenheimer's feeling for language, pleasantly ironic wit and touch of *noblesse oblige* may not be as important as his wealth and business acumen in explaining his influence, but they must be mentioned in any explanation of how that influence makes itself felt.

At a small gathering for cocktails, he could almost be overlooked. Being Harry Oppenheimer, he never is.

Views Become Fashionable

When Harry O. (as the local newspapers have taken to calling him) endorses an unconventional view, it immediately becomes respectable and eventually fashionable in the posh precincts of Johannesburg's northern suburbs. That is what happened when he responded to a series of wildcat strikes by black industrial workers by calling for recognition of black trade unions.

That was nine years ago, when he was already presiding over the first major increases in real wages the black migrant work force in the gold mines had known in eight decades. Mr. Oppenheimer wasn't just being a visionary, for he was creating a countervailing force to the power of the white miners' union. That union has kept the mines as the last preserve of the notorious system of "job reservation" that legally requires that the best jobs go to whites only.

The white union contends that the companies know they can get away with paying less to blacks. But the fact remains that the black unions, which have only started organizing in the mines in the last six months, would never have gotten to the gate had it not been for the decision of an arch-capitalist to call them into being.

The government's actual relations with Mr. Oppenheimer over the years had never been quite as frosty as the public stance of each has implied. He had helped to cut Afrikaners into ownership of the mining industry and, despite a shareholding position in the major press groups, he had refrained from putting his corporate muscle behind those liberal sectors of the English-language press that infuriate the government.

'Communist' Takeovers Seen

On matters of economic policy, he got along fine with a succession of finance ministers and reserve-bank governors. In addition, reacting to what he had branded as "communist" takeovers in Angola and Mozambique, Mr. Oppenheimer dutifully opened his wallet to the political parties backed by Pretoria in Zimbabwe and Namibia. So there was a sense of a gradual conver-

gence between the two South African power centers.

In Washington, the Reagan administration saw this as a harbinger of reform. On the Afrikaner right, it was seized as evidence of treason by Prime Minister P.W. Botha. In the upper echelons of Anglo American, there were those who dreamed of a Nationalist-Progressive coalition that would somehow transcend the absolute contradictions in the stands of the two parties on apartheid and black political rights.

Harry Oppenheimer himself was not affected by this euphoria for long. In 1979 he praised the prime minister for his "remarkable courage." Two years later he was saying South Africa could face revolutionary pressures in five years if Mr. Botha did not start making good on some of the hopes he had raised.

Two of the five years had already passed when I stopped by to visit him early this year at Milkwood, his seaside estate on the Indian Ocean, just north of Durban. The titan of the South African corporate scene was cozily ensconced at one end of a sofa, where he had been reading under a portrait of himself.

'A Very Risky Time'

"I think this is a very risky time," he said after we adjourned to an upstairs sitting room. "In a way," he went on, "I have more hope because we are having all the change, but it is quite liable to go for good or for bad. I wouldn't have liked to have been in politics at any time for the last 20 years, but if I were 20 years younger now, I would be very tempted." The temptation was in the sense that the apartheid gleam was starting to break up and, with it, the old political alignments.

What struck me as we picked our way through the wilted might-have-beens and thorny maybes of South African politics was the exquisite fairness of the magnate's judgments. Mr. Oppenheimer has occasionally spoken abroad as if he were in a position to represent the view of blacks.

When I asked how he knew what blacks were thinking, he said he didn't really. But he mentioned occasional contacts with four men. They were Dr. Ntseu Molana and Bishop Desmond M. Tutu, two conspicuous spokesmen for South Africa's blacks who reject the government's policies, and two leaders of the ethnic homelands that South Africa has spawned — Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Gaisa Buthelezi of KwaZulu.

"For the rest," he said, "you try to imagine what you would be feeling in their position, probably imagining it wrong." Coming from the country's most privileged white, it was an arresting remark. Only a small fraction of South African whites ever tries to make that leap.

We had circled around the ultimate question, that of black power, when I asked whether he feared the dividends that can be banked outside South Africa. He responded by alluding to an interview in which a recently released political prisoner asserted that



Miners in a gold refinery in Johannesburg

the underground movement was riddled with communists. "I would think there was quite a chance that this was true," he commented in a mild tone that seemed to invite correction.

The Oppenheimer attitude to black power is bound up in the world view passed on by Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, the son of a Jewish cigar maker from Friedberg, Germany. In the middle of World War I, he set up Anglo American, which got half its capital from Wall Street.

Sir Ernest's conversion to Anglicanism may not have been unrelated to the vision of a Western economic order extending from the other side of the Atlantic into the heartland of the continent, for there are hints that his essential aim was to remove a business impediment. His authorized biography never uses the word Jewish in connection with its subject. It wasn't until the last 20 years or so that the corporation Sir Ernest founded began to live down a reputation for anti-Semitic hiring practices.

The subject of his father's conversion remains a delicate one, however. Harry Oppenheimer has been more forthcoming on his father's attitude to blacks, saying that his father would not have contemplated transferring political power to the African majority.

Mr. Oppenheimer has obviously had to contemplate it, but there is no evidence that he has ever done so with relish. His hope seems to be that whites will have time to push through re-

forms and narrow inequalities so that blacks develop a stake in the capitalist system. Against this hope, he sets his experiences in black Africa.

His friend Kenneth Kaunda first took a majority share in his mining companies in Zambia, and then, without notice, dismissed their Anglo American managers. A major investment in a copper mine in Zaire was a total write-off. He respects Robert Mugabe and takes the African leader's socialist promises for Zimbabwe seriously.

I asked whether Anglo American's experience in black Africa said anything about what would happen to it under black rule at home. The reply seemed to come reluctantly, pushing its way through the old vision of Africa, for it came in a whisper: "Oh, I suppose it must."

Would Scrap Pass Laws

Leftists find it simple to argue that there is a comfortable division of labor between Harry Oppenheimer and P.W. Botha, with Mr. Botha overseeing the repressive machinery of the apartheid state while Mr. Oppenheimer and the business community he personifies tend to the sophisticated economy. That may be the arrangement circumstance has ordained, but Mr. Oppenheimer, at least, regards it as neither desirable or just.

Chinese in Tibet: Learning Not to Go Against Grain

By Christopher S. Wren

New York Times Service

LHASA, Tibet — When the snows vanish from Tibet's high valleys, the farmers yoke their shaggy yaks to wooden plows that break open the hard brown earth. Colored cockades and even red flags adorn the worn yokes of the plodding yaks in celebration that the spring planting has arrived.

The ritual, witnessed time and again on the Tibetan plateau, has more than casual significance this year. Doje Cedain, a senior Tibetan official, recently reported that 37,800 acres (15,270 hectares) had been taken out of winter wheat and restored for grazing and for growing the highland barley that is the staple of the Tibetan diet.

To the 1970s, Tibetans had to obey Mao Zedong's arbitrary order to "take grain as the key link" and grow more wheat and less barley. Their preference for barley, which is ground with yak butter, tea and salt for the traditional *zampa* that Tibetans eat, was ignored. So was the cold, windy climate.

Disastrous Lesson Offered

Winter wheat failed poorly in the high altitude. It needed too much water, used up fertilizer and leached the soil. Local Chinese administrators and garrison troops ate the wheat while barley disappeared from Tibetan shops.

As Li Weihan, an official from Beijing, conceded last year: "The masses had difficulties with their livelihood." Put more bluntly, tens of thousands of Tibetans were pushed to the brink of starvation.



Farmers use yak-drawn plows to rake the earth of the Tibetan plateau for the planting of highland barley, the traditional staple of the Tibetan diet.

For years, China's policies in Tibet offered a disastrous lesson in how not to treat an ethnic minority. The alien language, culture and even ideology forced upon the Tibetans bred a resentment of the dominant Han Chinese that has not dissipated.

Since 1980, Beijing has tried to undo the damage. Buddhist religious belief, which was suppressed until 1979, is again tolerated. The Tibetan language and traditions are selectively promoted.

Economic changes have started raising Tibet's living standards, still the lowest in China. Some Han Chinese party and government officials, who usually never bothered to learn Tibetan during their long assignments, have been sent home and replaced with Tibetans.

The spectacular Himalayan peaks, graceful lamascapes and striking people have perpetuated Tibet's reputation as the mysterious roof of the world, no less for the Chinese themselves. In reality, it is a harsh land, where even the valleys are no lower than 12,000 feet (3,660 meters) and winter snow gives way to stifling summer dust.

Although Tibet is larger than Britain, France and Italy combined, its scant 1.98 million people gives the region the lowest population density in China. More than 94 percent are Tibetan, and fewer than 5 percent are Han Chinese.

An Unenlightened Past

The image of a pristine Shangri-la before Chinese troops moved in to "liberate" Tibet in 1950 glosses over its unenlightened past as a feudal theocracy. Five percent of Tibetans owned most of the land. Nearly all the rest subsisted as serfs. The ruling lords and lamas so resisted progress that there was virtually no education outside the

monasteries, and the only wheeled vehicles were three dismantled cars owned by the Dalai Lama.

The Communists, adept at preserving the most damning evidence of their predecessors, have documented cruel punishments, including blinding and amputation, that were meted out in the dungeons of the Potala, the Dalai Lama's dramatic hilltop palace.

"The old Tibet was a hell for the laboring majority," Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme, the highest Tibetan official to join the Communists, told the Beijing Review last fall. "It was a paradise only for the few owners, the tiny minority."

China's long claim to Tibet is based on periods of Tibetan vassalage dating back to the Yuan dynasty of the 13th century. Beijing objects to the idea in the West that Tibet, with its singular language and culture, should be independent.

"The so-called independence of Tibet in modern history has always been a dirty allegation of imperialist aggression against China," the Beijing Review's political editor, An Zhiguo, wrote.

After the People's Liberation Army occupied Tibet, Beijing accorded it nominal autonomy, under the Dalai Lama until an armed rebellion broke out in 1959. Chinese troops killed thousands of the rebels, and the Dalai Lama fled with his followers over the Himalayas to India.

This left Mao free to start an assimilation policy that seemed bent on eradicating the Tibetan identity.

Most Buddhist monasteries, repositories of Tibetan scholarship, were razed, and religious worship was banned. Accounts of the destruction agree that well over 2,000 monasteries were reduced to barely a dozen and that thousands of monks were imprisoned or forced into menial secular jobs.

Chinese became the official language in schools and offices, and Han administrators were brought in under the army's protection. Starting in 1965, rural Tibetans were herded into communes.

During the Cultural Revolution, radical Red Guards bullied the Tibetans and defaced their shrines with Marxist slogans. Mr. Ngapoi has admitted that in this chaos "the Tibetan people, like the people of other nationalities in China, suffered greatly."

When the Chinese let the Dalai Lama's sister visit Tibet in 1980, she emerged with stories of misery and discontent, even asserting that hungry Tibetan children were rooting through the garbage of army garrisons. The Chinese dismissed such reports. But Lousang Cichang, a Tibetan official, told a Japanese journalist visiting Tibet that "about 100,000 people are on the verge of starvation."

Hu Yaobang, now general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, and Wan Li, a deputy prime minister, visited Tibet in April 1980 and were appalled by conditions. In a startling speech, Mr. Wan told the Tibetans to start looking after their own interests ahead of the state's. The visit set in motion a radical shift in Beijing's minority policies and subsequent programs.

Since then, Tibetan farmers and herdsmen have been paid up to 50 percent more for what they produce. They have been exempted from taxes and allowed to expand their private plots. Interest-free loans have been offered to craftsmen and herdsmen, and private vending licenses have been re-issued in Lhasa.

Yin Fatang, a Han Chinese who speaks Tibetan, was appointed as the new reform-minded party secretary. The number of Tibetans in administrative jobs has risen from less than 32 percent in 1965 to more than 54 percent, although Han cadres, as Communist officials are called, continue to dominate the more important posts. The eventual goal is for close to two-thirds of all cadres to be Tibetans.

The government has provided funds to repair

I asked Mr. Oppenheimer what he would do about the pass laws, the system's legal underpinning, recalling that a few years ago he said he did not approve them "in their present form." Now he said flatly: "I would run the risk of just scrapping them."

If that were said in an Anglo American executive suite by anyone else, it might still be patted down as impractical, foolishly idealistic by some of his closest associates. Others would argue that the system of migrant labor is not just inhuman but irrational for an industry that says it wants skilled workers.

The Reagan administration bets on this possibility: that sweeping change in South Africa will come from the top down, that the agent of change is actually the white plutocracy. But then Ronald Reagan, whom Mr. Oppenheimer feels a strong political affinity, would be considered faintly radical, the South African context. Even those who might accept a program of fundamental reform from white capitalists doubt that it will ever materialize. The reality they know is only increasing racial and political polarization.

For the white government is obsessed, like many other governments, with its own security and survival, and neither can be insured with the kind of changes Mr. Oppenheimer hopes to see. So any loosening up of the system in one sphere demands a tightening in another.

The few remaining monasteries and has reopened holy sites to Tibetan pilgrims. The Tibetan language has been reinstated for legal cases, documents and notices and again being taught, along with Chinese, in schools.

Hu Encouraged Arts

Tibetan opera has been rehabilitated, and 60 children are learning Tibetan folk music and dance at a new state-supported School of Performing Arts in Lhasa. "When H. Yaobang came to Tibet in 1980," said Li Weipeng of the Han instructors, "he said that Tibet must have its own arts. The school emerged from that."

After so much earlier propaganda about happy Tibetans thriving under Beijing's benign rule, such calibrated concessions amount to an admission that its old, heavy-handed approach did not work.

"In 25 years, they have failed to bring the Tibetans into the mainstream of the Chinese nation," said a Beijing-based Asian diplomat who has followed developments in Tibet.

Part of the problem is Tibet's geographical isolation. It is not linked by rail with the Chinese interior. Instead, 95 percent of the commodities sold in Tibet must be trucked 1,000 miles (1,600 kilometers) and up over winding mountain roads from the nearest railroad at Xining in Qinghai province or from Chengdu in Sichuan province.

Lhasa's airport is 70 miles distant, and the daily propeller-driven flight is canceled when the weather looks doubtful.

Tibet has potentially valuable deposits of uranium, copper, borax and other minerals, but they have not been exploited for lack of transportation. The government has admitted losing more than \$160 on every ton of chromite it ships out.

To save money and encourage self-sufficiency, the central government has begun withdrawing some Han Chinese officials, who get paid nearly one-third more than they would earn back home. Wang Jian, a Lhasa newspaper editor, said last summer that 11,000 Han officials had been sent back to eastern China and 10,000 would shortly follow.

Han Cadres Remain

But a European diplomat who has since visited Tibet said he believed the government was having second thoughts about its pledge to repatriate 85 percent of the Han cadres and might keep more in Tibet to maintain a firm grip.

Last July's census showed nearly 96,000 Han Chinese still living in Tibet. They do not include military forces, whose strength has been estimated from 100,000 to 300,000. Still, Lhasa's population of 120,000 is now only 30 percent Han, down from 50 percent in 1980.

Despite perquisites that include a three-month home leave every 18 months, some Han Chinese seem unhappy working in Tibet.

"It's awfully far from the modern world," said a young teacher who volunteered to come only to become sick from the altitude. "Some young men want to go home because there is nothing much to do here."

While Beijing wants to reduce the visibility of its Han cadres, it also needs more scientists and technicians to develop Tibet's economy. Tibetans tend to be poorly educated because they were chosen for ideological reliability rather than skills.

The official goal is to eliminate poverty in Tibet by 1985 and usher in prosperity by 1990. The People's Daily reported last summer that the average income of Tibetan farmers and herdsmen had reached \$100 a year, a 58-percent increase over 1979, before the new policies.

But China has made clear that Tibet will never be allowed the kind of political and economic autonomy that the Beijing leadership has promised to Taiwan if it joins the People's Republic.

TUESDAY, MAY 10, 1983

WEDNESDAY, MAY 11, 1983

BUSINESS PEOPLE

Black & Decker Names Thomas Managing Director of U.K. Unit

Black & Decker, the U.S. tool-making company that last week announced that it would close a plant in Britain and one in Ireland, has appointed Roger H. Thomas managing director of its Black & Decker (U.K.) unit.

The company said that the closures would involve the loss of about 1,000 jobs. Increased competition from Japanese toolmakers is driving it to become more cost-effective, said a spokeswoman at Black & Decker's headquarters in Towson, Maryland. She said production in Britain would be concentrated at the Spennymoor plant, where consumer power tools are the primary product.

Black & Decker has lowered prices to compete with the Japanese, which has "eroded profitability," the spokeswoman said. In 1982 the company lost \$76.6 million.

In his new position at the British unit, Mr. Thomas, 41, succeeds N.P. Hamilton. Mr. Hamilton was named to the new position of senior vice president for manufacturing and technical development in the head office as part of an overall reorganization of Black & Decker.

Mr. Thomas, previously general manager of the British company, has also been appointed a group vice president of the parent, eliminating a layer of management, the spokeswoman said.

Other Appointments

William B. Harrison Jr., based in London as Chemical Bank's division head for Europe, will be transferred to the New York head office in June to direct the bank's U.S. corporate division. Succeeding Mr. Harrison in London will be Peter A. Alexander, head of Chemical's U.S. multinational division in New York. L. Charles Jewell, country manager for Britain, Ireland and Scandinavia, and John Ashbury, head of British treasury, have been named senior vice presidents, based in London.

Mobil Oil Co. Ltd., the London-based marketing and refining affiliate of Mobil Corp., has appointed Brian R. Baker a director, responsible for planning and supply. He succeeds Peter Hoskins, who has retired. Mr. Baker was previously based in Mobil's New York headquarters as general manager, supply, for Australia and the Pacific Islands.

James Edward Bywater and Vivian de Mesquita have been appointed to the board of Massey-Ferguson Holdings of London, a subsidiary of the Toronto-based maker of farm equipment. Mr. Bywater is chairman of TSI Thermal Syndicate. Mr. de Mesquita is president of Massey-Ferguson in France.

The U.S.-based conglomerate Tenneco has appointed Klaus Liesen to its European advisory committee. Mr. Liesen is chairman of the executive board of Ruhrpump, West Germany's largest natural gas pipeline company. Bernard Sparrow has been appointed chief manager of National Westminster Bank's Bahrain branch. He succeeds R.C. Mitchell-Hogg, whose new position is yet to be announced. Prior to his new appointment, Mr. Sparrow was based in London as senior regional manager for National Westminster with responsibilities for Africa and the Middle East.

T.N. Risk, governor of the Bank of Scotland, has been appointed a director of Barclays Bank in London. In addition, Peter Gwynne has been appointed representative and a director of Barclays Trade Finance Ltd. in Moscow, succeeding David Mackay. Mr. Gwynne was formerly second in command to Abn-Am Bank in West Germany.

BA Asia Ltd., a merchant banking subsidiary of Bank of America, has appointed Eric W. Hayden vice president and chief representative in Tokyo. He had been the bank's senior economist for Asia.

Deutsche Bank International in Luxembourg has named Dr. Nielsen managing director. Mr. Nielsen, a first vice president, was previously in the international department in the bank's head office in Copenhagen.

Pierre Mendras has been appointed senior executive vice president in charge of the international division of Banque Nationale de Paris. He had been executive vice president in charge of the treasury and international operations department.

Deutsche Bank has appointed Hans Kippenberger executive vice president of its supervisory board.

Hokuriku Bank has opened a representative office in London and named Shintaro Makino chief representative.

L.F. Dupuy, vice president of Dow Chemical Europe with responsibility for operations in Italy and Yugoslavia, has been transferred to the company's headquarters in Horgen, Switzerland, where he has added responsibilities for product flow, purchasing and trading. Among those reporting to Mr. Dupuy is H.P. Cooper, who has been named Dow's country manager for Yugoslavia, based in Zagreb. Dow has appointed H. Edgar Nicklin regional general sales manager for Britain. He succeeds Eddie Wilson, who was named commercial director for Dow Middle East/Africa, based in Geneva. Mr. Nicklin moves to London from Dow Chemical's head office in Midland, Michigan.

Roger H. Thomas

EC Loan Is Sought By France

By Philip Stephens

BRUSSELS — France has asked the European Community for a multibillion-dollar loan to help finance its huge balance-of-payments deficit, European monetary officials said Tuesday.

The EC Monetary Committee, which groups senior Treasury and central bank officials from the 10 EC governments, were to discuss the issue at a special meeting Wednesday in Paris, the officials said.

They said the talks would focus on how the community could finance such a loan and on the terms that other EC states might impose.

France's finance minister, Jacques Delors, indicated in late March, when the franc was devalued in a realignment of currencies in the European Monetary System, that France would seek such a loan. Diplomats said at the time that Mr. Delors wanted a loan for about 4 billion European Currency Units, or about \$3.7 billion.

The officials said that telegrams sent to members of the monetary committee Tuesday mentioned no figure for the French request, but that it was expected to be more than 3 billion ECUs.

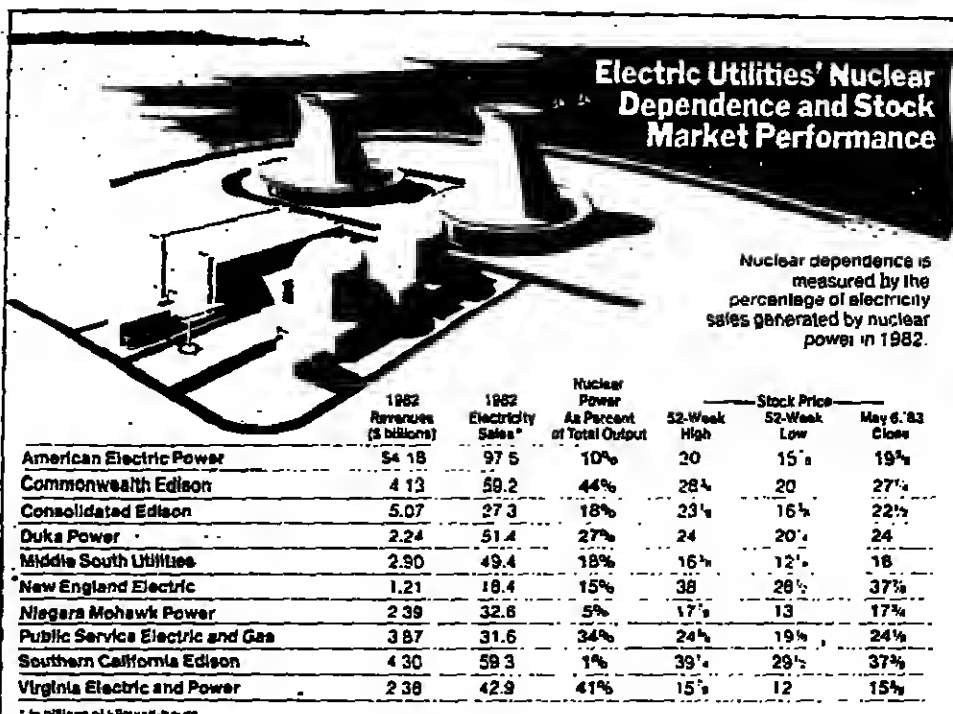
Medium-term loans for about five years are available to EC states under the so-called oil facility, which allows the community to borrow on international capital markets at favorable rates by using its top credit rating.

France, which raised \$4 billion last year on international capital markets to defend its hard-pressed currency, would almost certainly get cheaper credit through such an operation, the officials said.

But they pointed out that if France got the loan, the other EC states will have the right to set terms and scrutinize France's economic policies.

Mr. Delors, who after three franc devaluations in two years has pushed through a series of unpopular austerity measures to restore the French economy, would be anxious that such conditions were not onerous.

He was expected to discuss such conditions in informal contacts with other EC finance ministers at Tuesday's meeting of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in Paris, the officials said.



Reeling U.S. Nuclear Utilities Are Dealt Hard New Blows

By Thomas J. Lueck

NEW YORK — The U.S. nuclear-power industry, already reeling from stagnant demand for electricity, huge cost overruns for new construction and mounting environmental opposition, has been dealt a devastating blow by the federal government in recent actions, several of the nation's biggest utilities said during the weekend.

In decisions announced last week, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission said it would close Consolidated Edison Co.'s Indian Point nuclear plant if the utility did not come up with an acceptable emergency evacuation plan, and it fined the operators of the Salem nuclear plant in New Jersey \$850,000 for safety violations.

The actions came against the backdrop of a Supreme Court decision upholding the right of municipalities to bar nuclear plants within their boundaries. Evan Silverstein, an analyst for L.F. Rothchild and Co., characterized the moves as "another nail in the coffin of nuclear power." He added that "every time the nuclear industry receives another setback there are countless investors out there that say to themselves 'that's it, this is too big a gamble at any price.'"

Even before the setbacks, the utility industry had canceled or postponed dozens of new reactors. Construction has not been started on any new plants in this country since 1978.

"Any time you show a weak underbelly in an industry that is so vulnerable to political and economic risks, there is going to be damage," said James Tokus, a spokesman for Commonwealth Edison, a major utility in Chicago. Commonwealth Edison, with seven nuclear reactors in operation and five others scheduled to be completed by the end of 1986, is the nation's largest nuclear plant operator. While the Illinois utility is "perfectly

confident" that its new plants will be completed, Mr. Tokus said, he added that other utilities with plants now being built "are going to be hurt."

Indeed, utility industry analysts maintained that last week's actions would severely damage the ability of companies to attract enough financing to complete the 37 nuclear reactors currently being built by the more than a dozen utilities.

Collectively, these plants are consuming \$15 billion a year in construction costs, according to the Atomic Industrial Forum, a trade group representing the nuclear-power industry in Washington.

Even plants that have been in operation for more than five years, as last Indian Point, could be affected. "At any time in the future, we could have a change of government or change of policy and plants could simply be taken out of operation," said Norman Cullenot, a spokesman for the Seabrook nuclear-power plant in Seabrook, New Hampshire, where two new reactors are being built by Public Service Co. of New Hampshire.

In last week's warning to Indian Point, the NRC said it would order the plant closed by June 9 unless action were taken to remedy problems in its plans for emergency evacuation of the surrounding suburban area. The two reactors at Indian Point, 35 miles north of New York City, are operated by Consolidated Edison, of New York, and the New York Power Authority.

At the same time, the federal commission said that only 16 of the nation's 53 nuclear plants have received final approval for their evacuation plans, which were ordered by the government after the near-catastrophic accident in 1979 at Pennsylvania's Three Mile Island plant.

On Friday, in another severe blow to the industry, the federal commission fined the operators of the Salem nuclear plant \$850,000 for safety violations.

(Continued on Page 13, Col. 6)

BP, Partners Sign First Chinese Deal To Drill Offshore

By Michael Parks

BEIJING — China signed its first contract Tuesday with the foreign oil companies that have been bidding to explore and develop its extensive offshore oil reserves.

British Petroleum won the right with Australian, Brazilian and Canadian partners to drill in four highly promising sectors at the mouth of the Pearl River, about 60 miles (95 kilometers) southeast of Canton, and in a fifth area in the southern Yellow Sea off Shanghai.

Details of the agreement were not disclosed, though in general it requires the oil companies to bear all exploration costs and about half the development costs if oil is found, with repayment being a share of the oil produced.

BP officials said that disclosure of key contract elements — how much the Western firms will invest in exploration and what share of oil they will eventually get — would jeopardize negotiations continuing over other offshore areas.

Eight to 10 more agreements are likely in the next three months, with drilling expected to begin in October or November, officials of the China National Offshore Oil Corp. said.

Companies involved in advanced discussions are believed to include Texaco, Shell, Chevron, Occidental, Exxon and Elf-Aquitaine.

The agreement Tuesday surprised oil industry observers who had seen the negotiations dragging on through the summer with China proceeding uncertainly in a complex and, for it, new field and with the oil companies no longer so interested in the Chinese offshore reserves because of the world oil surplus.

BP's agreement did have the appearance of being "cobbled together very quickly," another oil company representative said, and a BP official allowed that further negotiations would be necessary before development could begin.

The initial exploration phase of the contract runs for three years, BP officials said, with extension possible to five or even years, though BP and its partners expect to be in production before then in at least some of the five sectors they have been awarded.

BP has a 45-percent stake in contract areas, which total 5,438 square miles. Petro-Canada and Ranger Oil of Canada each have a 10-percent share. Broken Hill Proprietary of Australia has 20 percent and Petrobras of Brazil has 15 percent.

The consortium, put together two years ago as the bidding process was beginning, may have been helped by its political complexion, according to other oil company representatives, who noted that China's problems with the United States and the Netherlands may have led it to conclude the first contract with BP and its partners.

China is counting heavily on rapid development of these oil resources to double its oil production, now about two million barrels a day, and ease a growing energy shortage as well as finance industrial development.

But the negotiations with the Western oil companies, 33 of which bid on 43 blocks opened for exploration, have gone slowly, missing the initial contract deadline of last November and threatening to drag on into the second half of this year.

Not only was China new to the field, having to write laws, regulations and model contracts. It negotiated, but Chinese officials proved very cautious, not wanting to make mistakes for which they would later be attacked, oil company representatives say.

"The BP agreement should mean the logjam has finally been broken," a West European oilman said.

Professional traders and big institutions also began to buy the lower-tier stocks while hanging onto blue-chip issues.

But investors were a bit uncertain about the outlook for interest rates since the Federal Reserve reported an increase in the narrow money measure of the oil's money supply Friday.

Several analysts, however, said that because bank loan demands have dropped sharply during the past several weeks, lending institutions are under pressure to lower their prime rate.

U.S. Trust encouraged some traders Tuesday when it lowered its charge to brokers for loans to 9 1/2 percent from 9 3/4 percent.

Trading in Metromedia was halted Tuesday for its announcement that its board had approved a 10-for-1 stock split in the form of a 900 percent stock dividend. It said shareholders of record July 15 will receive nine additional shares for each share held.

Analysts said lower-priced stocks were among the most active issues, which indicated that smaller investors were trying to get aboard the rally that has thrived almost without major interruption since last August.

He also warned that the money market was still under pressure.

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CURRENCY RATES

Interbank exchange rates for May 10, excluding bank service charges.

	\$	£	D.M.	F.F.	Y.	S.F.	S.P.	D.M.
American Express	2.24	4.20	11.25	37.15	6.19	17.75	5.65	32.50
Bank of America	2.24	4.20	11.25	37.15	6.19	17.75	5.65	32.50
Bank of Europe	2.24	4.20	11.25	37.15	6.19	17.75	5.65	32.50
Bank of France	2.24	4.20	11.25	37.15	6.19	17.75	5.65	32.50
Bank of Germany	2.24	4.20	11.25	37.15	6.19	17.75	5.65	32.50
Bank of Italy	2.24	4.20	11.25	37.15	6.19	17.75	5.65	32.50
Bank of Japan	2.24	4.20	11.25	37.15	6.19	17.75	5.65	32.50
Bank of London	2.24	4.20	11.25	37.15	6.19	17.75	5.65	32.50
Bank of Mexico	2.24	4.20	11.25	37.15	6.19	17.75	5.65	32.50
Bank of New York	2.24	4.20	11.25	37.15	6.19	17.75	5.65	32.50
Bank of Paris	2.24	4.20	11.25	37.15	6.19	17.75	5.65	32.50
Bank of Rome	2.24	4.20	11.25	37.15	6.19	17.75	5.65	32.50
Bank of Spain	2.24	4.20	11.25	37.15	6.19	17.75	5.65	32.50
Bank of Sweden	2.24	4.20	11.25	37.15	6.19	17.75	5.65	32.50
Bank of Switzerland	2.24	4.20	11.25	37.15	6.19	17.75	5.65	32.50
Bank of Tokyo	2.24	4.20	11.25	37.15	6.19	17.75	5.65	32.50
Bank of U.S.A.	2.24	4.20	11.25	37.15	6.19	17.75	5.65	32.50
Bank of Venezuela	2.24	4.20	11.25	37.15	6.19	17.75	5.65	32.50
Bank of West Germany	2.24	4.20	11.25	37.15	6.19	17.75	5.65	32.50
Bank of Yugoslavia	2.24	4.20	11.25	37.15	6.19	17.75	5.65	32.50
Bank of Zaire	2.24	4.20	11.25	37.15	6.19	17.75	5.65	32.50
Bank of Zimbabwe	2.24	4.20	11.25	37.15	6.19	17.75	5.65	32.50

Source: Reuters. 1/21212 Irish L.

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Source: Reuters. 1/21212 Irish L.

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NYSE Index[illegible]

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

[illegible]

(Continued on Page 12)

- Sales figures are unofficial. Yearly highs and lows reflect the previous 12 weeks plus the current week, but not the latest trading day. Where a split or stock dividend amounts to 25 percent or more has been split, the year's high and low dividends are shown for the new stock only. Unless otherwise noted, rates of dividends are annual distributions based on the latest declaration.
- Dividend also extra(s).
- Annual rate of dividend plus stock dividend.
- Dividends divided.
- Call—called.
- New nearly low.
- Dividend declared or sold in preceding 12 months.
- Traded in Canadian funds, subject to 15% non-residence tax.
- Dividend declared after split-up or stock dividend.
- Dividend paid this year, omitted, deferred, or no action.
- Dividend declared or stock dividend.
- Dividend declared or paid this year, on accumulative basis with dividends in arrears.
- New issue in the past 12 months.
- High-low range based on the start of trading.
- No net—no delivery.
- P/E—price-earnings ratio.
- Dividend declared or sold in preceding 12 months, plus stock dividend.
- Stock split. Dividend begins with date of split.
- Split.
- Dividend sold in stock in preceding 12 months, estimated value.
- New yearly high.
- New yearly low.
- New issue.
- In bankruptcy or receivership or being reorganized under Chapter 11 of the U.S. Bankruptcy Code or Chapter 36 of the U.S. Securities Exchange Act, or securities assumed by such companies.
- Not when distributed.
- Not when issued.
- With warrants.
- As—dividend or warrants.
- As—distribution.
- Without warrants.
- As—dividend and sales in full.
- Sales in full.

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Tuesday's AMEX Closing Prices

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12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div.	Yld.	P/E	12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div.	Yld.	P/E	12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div.	Yld.	P/E
24	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	25	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	26	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14
27	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	28	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	29	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14
30	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	31	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	32	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14
33	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	34	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	35	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14
36	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	37	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	38	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14
39	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	40	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	41	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14
42	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	43	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	44	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14
45	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	46	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	47	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14
48	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	49	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	50	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14
51	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	52	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	53	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14
54	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	55	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	56	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14
57	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	58	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	59	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14
60	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	61	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	62	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14
63	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	64	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	65	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14
66	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	67	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	68	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14
69	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	70	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	71	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14
72	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	73	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	74	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14
75	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	76	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	77	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14
78	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	79	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	80	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14
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84	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	85	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	86	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14
87	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	88	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	89	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14
90	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	91	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	92	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14
93	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	94	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	95	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14
96	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	97	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	98	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14
99	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	100	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	101	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14	1.15	1.14

**Banque Internationale
à Luxembourg**
2 Boulevard Royal,
Luxembourg-Ville,
Luxembourg 2205.

(d) Japan Portfolio.....	SF 613.75	Ex	RTs:	5% —	Suspended;
(d) Swissvior New Ser.....	SF 244.50	N.C.	—	Not communicated;	— Redempt
(d) Univ. Bond Select.....	SF 72.50	price-Ex-Coupon:		as	Formerly

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RCA Chief Credits Budget Cuts, Good Shows in NBC Turnaround

By Peter J. Boyer
Los Angeles Times Service

BURBANK, California — When Thomson Bradshaw became chairman of a shaky RCA Corp. in July 1981, it was widely speculated that the company's floundering subsidiary, the National Broadcasting Co., would be a priority item on his agenda. Now, he speaks of NBC as a centerpiece restored.

After a four-year slide in profits, NBC turned the corner in 1982, more than doubling its profit from \$48.1 million to \$107.9 million. Judging from first-quarter returns this year, it looks as though profit will double again in 1983.

Mr. Bradshaw said in a recent interview that two things had saved NBC: The network chairman, Grant Tinker, capped the spending spree that had bled NBC during the hectic reign of Fred Silverman as president and, no less noteworthy an accomplishment, NBC's programs are better.

Expenses have been brought under control at NBC, Mr. Bradshaw said. "Expenses increased only 5 percent in 1982. That is a remarkably low figure in that business. Also, the demographics changed, by design.

"This is not only the most important thing that happened to NBC in 1982, but the most important thing going on in network television. NBC programs are more popular among the 18-to-49-year-old audience and the urban audience, and advertisers like that."

He was referring to the strategy employed by Mr. Tinker and

NBC's programmer, Brandon Tartikoff, by which NBC is selling smaller audiences to advertisers for premium prices. The plan calls for creating a core of "class" programs, admired by a younger, more urban audience, and building on that with broad-appeal hits, such as NBC's new "The A-Team."

But the two elements of Mr. Tinker's reign that Mr. Bradshaw admires — a lean on spending and better programs — are sometimes in conflict. For example, NBC has been high on a proposed series called "Bay City Blues," an ensemble series in the fashion of the successful "Hill Street Blues." "Bay City" came from the "Hill Street" source — MTM Productions, formerly owned by Mr. Tinker.

But NBC would not pay what MTM said was needed to produce the show, and last week the network's deal with MTM dissolved. The production company is now shopping elsewhere for a deal for "Bay City Blues."

"Tinker was in the producing business," Mr. Bradshaw said. "He knew, as a producer, that there was a difference in dealing with the three different networks. At some point, they would look over your shoulder and watch your every move. He didn't like dealing with them, and neither did the other independent producers. His philosophy is to deal with the best producers, and let them go. That's what we've been doing. Letting them go — but within a budget. Obviously, we exercise control."

As for RCA's involvement in the



Thomson Bradshaw

volatile video universe, things get murky in the realm of "new technologies," such as pay TV, video cassettes and discs. Mr. Bradshaw seemed surer when speaking of RCA's place in video.

He is faced with a dilemma: On the one hand, RCA's recent study of the entertainment industry was startlingly bullish on the future of pay-cable TV. Among other things, the report concluded that "the new services and home-video technologies" will cut the three networks' share of the audience from 80 percent now to 60 percent by 1990.

On the other hand, there is RCA's recent experience in pay TV with The Entertainment Channel, which Mr. Bradshaw cites with a wince. The channel folded in March.

Continued Credit For Developing Countries Urged

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Leaders of industrialized countries should seek to prevent an "unraveling" of the world financial and trading systems by encouraging continued credit for developing countries and by stopping protectionism, according to the Overseas Development Council.

The council, a private group devoted to increasing U.S. understanding of developing countries, released a statement Monday aimed at participants in the Washington, Virginia, economic summit later this month.

"To service their debt, developing countries must expand their exports, but they cannot do so if other countries raise restrictive trade barriers," the council said. "The crisis confronting the international trading and financial regimes are therefore intimately linked."

At a briefing, Robert S. McNamara, the council's chairman, argued strongly against those who say that imprudent bankers should not be bailed out by taxpayer-supported agencies such as the International Monetary Fund. The world debt crisis was not caused by "gross errors" of banking judgment, nor were higher taxes a necessary result of expanded international aid, he said.

Rather, he said, developing countries were victims of a recession-induced decline in the volume of trade; a sharp deterioration in their terms of trade, which refers to the prices of a country's imports and exports; and much higher interest rates after inflation.

OECD Officials Focus on Joblessness

By Carl Gewirtz
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — Senior government officials of the 24 member states of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development concluded their two-day annual meeting here Tuesday placing slightly more emphasis on fighting unemployment than they have in recent years.

But the economic portions of the final communiqué differ very little from those of last year. And once again there was no firm commitment by any member to alter policy as a result of the talks.

U.S. Secretary of State George P. Shultz told a press conference that the meeting showed a mutual determination to solve problems.

As for how the meeting here will contribute to the upcoming summit of the seven leading industrial states at the end of this month, Mr. Shultz noted that "heads of state won't come at these issues with the sense of a solution in some kind of definitive sense. What they can contribute is a sense of the relationship among these issues and a greater understanding of how they affect the countries involved so that as they proceed with their own policies they do so with a greater sense of how the interactions are likely to be around the world."

Mr. Shultz noted with satisfaction the ministers' determination to reverse protectionist trends. A year ago, ministers were hoping that an anticipated economic expansion would result in a recovery in employment. This year, however, the ministers stated that their governments "intend... to promote job creation and higher employment" and to "take advantage of the room for growth, which is now emerging in an important part of the OECD area."

Tuesday's communiqué stated that they were "very concerned about the high and rising levels of unemployment" and were agreed that "ensuring the transition to sustained non-inflationary growth and higher employment is the central task of policy."

This policy, they agreed, needs to be "set firmly in a medium-term framework" which will "call for flexibility in the implementation of policies when circumstances require."

For some economists attending the meeting, this commitment to flexibility is the meat of the agreement. Up to now, governments, to remain credible in their anti-inflation fight, have been obliged to apply policy rigidly, and this rigidity itself is now seen as the obstacle to renewed growth.

The ministers were agreed that not all member countries are in a position to foster higher domestic growth. "In some [unspecified] countries, accounting for about 20 percent of OECD GNP, further progress against inflation is required" and they were advised to persevere in their battle while countries accounting for another 10 percent of the area's GNP were advised to get their "very high" rates of inflation under control.

The other countries, who account for 70 percent of output within the OECD area, were advised to adopt a monetary policy that would "allow for output growth which is sustainable over the medium term," the communiqué stated. Fiscal policy, however, needs to be tightened. Structural budget deficits need to be reduced to make room for investment needed to sustain growth and employment, it stated.

But U.S. Treasury Secretary

Donald Regan warned at Tuesday's session that making headway in reducing the U.S. budget deficit will be a "long, slow process."

French Finance Minister Jacques Delors urged the OECD to call a special autumn session of ministers to discuss in detail the structural and cyclical effects and methods to deal with them. OECD Secretary General Emile van Lennep, whose part-time term has been extended in mid-1984, said the French proposal received some support in the meeting and would be studied by the organization.

The ministers also agreed to "work to resolve the international debt problems in a trade-expansionary way." But their emphasis that "adjustment by debtor countries" is a prerequisite to any resolution of the problem was a clear message that the now wholesale bailout of the debtor nations is in prospect.

Efforts to get ministers to endorse a call on the International Monetary Fund to tap private capital markets to enhance its lending capability died in the early preparatory stages of this meeting. And the final communiqué omitted the specific language of an earlier draft that had promised that "multilateral lending institutions will be making proposals for increasing their lending capacity."

World Bank vice president Munir P. Benjenk, however, warning that the downturn in commercial bank lending to developing countries "most likely... is still not played out," called on governments to allow his institution to do more than it is now to help finance developing countries.

The bank two years ago was ordered by its board of directors (treasury secretaries and finance ministers) to limit its lending to a total of \$60 billion in the 1982-86 period. This lending restriction has limited the bank's borrowings in the major capital markets of the world to some \$10 billion a year.

But Mr. Benjenk estimated that the bank could easily borrow at least another \$3 billion a year without any impairment to its triple-A credit rating or its relative cost of funds.

"The crisis is now," Mr. Benjenk said in an interview. "The cost to member governments of the downturn in commercial bank lending to developing countries is the increase in its capital scheduled to be sought in 1985. But that capital increase should not pose a budgetary burden on member countries, he added, because the amount of the increase actually paid in by the bank's owners is usually only a fraction of the nominal value."

Nuclear Utilities Deal New Blows

(Continued from Page 9)

These actions, taken together, reflect a growing determination on the part of the state and local governments to play a larger role in present and future nuclear power operations.

It comes against a backdrop of mounting environmental activism in protest of the industry, rapidly escalating construction costs, and expanding regulations on plant construction that have extended the time required to build a nuclear plant to an average of 12 years.

"A utility manager isn't afraid of spending \$10 billion. But he is afraid of not knowing how much he is going to have to spend," said

Mr. Toskus of Commonwealth Edison.

The Atomic Industrial Forum, which has championed the nuclear industry in hearings before state and federal government agencies, said that since 1980, while the ground has not been broken for a single new plant, utility companies have canceled 40 nuclear-reactor construction projects, many of them after huge investments. The group, which had projected in the mid-1970s that half the nation's electricity would come from nuclear plants by the end of the century, estimates that the nuclear industry will produce only 25 percent of electricity demand.

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U.S. Futures Prices

Open High Low Close Chg.

Grains

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SPORTS

Cup Final: Past and Future and Present Tension

International Herald Tribune
GOTEBORG, Sweden — Paths of sporting history, and perhaps future realms of fantasy and reality, will converge here Wednesday.

The majestic pull of Sweden's northern port is created by the European Cup Winners' Cup final match between the legendary Real Madrid and the first-timers from Aberdeen.

Fishing boats in the North Sea have altered course for Gotteborg, and Orkney ferry services have been suspended while sea-going vessels are commandeered. With Yankee cousins from the oil rigs aboard, some 12,000 Aberdeenians have formed Operation Europe, by sea and air.

It is the first such night in their club's history.

The Spaniards, of course, are more practiced.

This is Madrid's 11th European final, and with down expectations, Aberdeenians and excited Latins in equal numbers, Nya Ullevi Stadium will be transformed into a cauldron of rare bipartisan fervor.

The outstanding question: Will the occasion lift or suppress the young players of Aberdeen, some of whom are only teenagers?

Because if their nerve is strong enough, Aberdeen can certainly win.

I put the odds on the Scots because, inexperienced though they are, they will set the mood.

I do so after consultation with Laurie Cunningham, the only Briton ever to wear Real Madrid's famous white.

"The strange thing about the Latin temperament," says Cunningham, "is that if opponents attack, Real come immediately out of their shells. Action and reaction."

At possibly the strangest thing about Cunningham, currently on loan from Madrid to Manchester United, is that he has willingly supplied Aberdeen with a dossier on Spanish colleagues to whom he may yet return.

And while a player's insight is never truly objective, the first-person Cunningham's advice sounds logical enough.

"If our opponents scored a goal straight away," says Real Madrid, "they would be thrown off balance. It could upset us."

Music, I'm sure, to the ears of Aberdeen manager Alex Ferguson. His far more impressive in going for the throat of the enemy than in trying to defend its own.

Ferguson, a rebel-rousing center-forward in his playing days, is of an era of Scotsmen whose soccer ideals were framed by the indelible patches of Real Madrid's 7-3 European Cup triumph over Eintracht Frankfurt, played at Hampden Park in Glasgow in 1960.

Indeed, until the current final round, the 41-year-old manager who has coached virtually the entire Aberdeen side from their school days, made a habit of telling his players in prematch talks:

"Get out there and run them — it's not Real Madrid you're facing!"

"This time, it is. But not the Real Madrid of that magical time, although it is managed by the great center-forward Alfredo di Stefano, who engineered that 1960 performance."

"To us," says Aberdeen's Mark McGhee, "it's pretty much a name of the past." McGhee is a striker.

ROB HUGHES

(arguing nowadays for center-forward) who has bagged six of his club's 24 European goals this season.

He thinks his pals have laid the ghost of reputations. "We've taken on Bayern Munich," he reasons, "and they were great names of Europe as well."

How true, even though Aberdeen's precocious midfielders Neale Cooper and Neil Simpson looked overawed as, early in the quarterfinal, the Scots conceded two goals to Bayern.

Yet the teenagers blossomed as Aberdeen overhauled the West Germans to win, 3-2. They bloomed for three reasons: the calm leadership from defender Willie Miller, the never-say-die attacking of Peter Weir, Eric Black and McGhee — and Ferguson's tactical switch.

Throwing defensive caution to the north wind, the manager substituted two men; one reserve, John McMaster, composed the midfield, while another, John Hewitt, scored the winning goal.

Playing that night, but by no means as physically fit as he promises to be here, was Aberdeen's most thrilling artist, Gordon Strachan.

His red hair takes the eye as his instincts carry him to the heart and throat of defenses. As a kid, he dreamed that he belonged to Real Madrid and, although he is far too young to have seen the man in action, he kitted himself out in all-white and imagined he was Real's Ferenc Puskas — the greatest left foot of all time.

If those ghosts of the past so pervade Aberdeen, what must it be like living with them in Madrid?

Real for 30 years has had the power and glory — and cash — to lure stars from any country it chose. Hence Puskas and di Stefano, hence Gmüther Neizer and Paul Breitner.

"It is an obligation to play better for Madrid than anywhere else in the world," Neizer once told me.

That obligation is now shared by Dutchman Johnny Metgod, who marshals the Real defense, and the tough but technically astute West German Uli Stielicke.

Not for the first time, Stielicke starts a major final handicapped by injury, but in any event, Madrid's true matchwinners are Carlos Santillana, the veteran goal-scorer, and Juanito, the explosive little ferret at his side.

Between them, those two have contributed 11 of Real's 17 European goals this season. Santillana with his instincts for being in the right place at the right time. Juanito a true Latin liable to take over a grand occasion with his marvelous dribbling skills from the right — or to disgrace the scene with his volatile temper.

For the game's sake, we must hope Juanito's mood is creative and that the near-criminal thuggery that exists in most Spanish sides is subdued. Juanito and Isidoro Sanjaume have served more suspensions between them than all the Aberdeen squad members have in their careers.

That sour note is not introduced by journalistic cynicism. It is more in response to di Stefano's disingenuous statement — "Aberdeen are tough and violent" — based on seeing Aberdeen's response to one physical match against Celtic.

Come off it, di Stefano. Few Scotsmen ever run away from a fight, but those words are hypocrisy and you know it. After the hide-



Laurie Cunningham
Real dossier.

ous fouls perpetrated across Europe by Barcelona, Valencia and Madrid last winter, the Italian referee must know it too. So please cut out the intimidation in word and deed. Show us skill.

BEST SELLERS

A strong throw by left fielder George Foster and a sure tag by Met catcher Ronn Reynolds nailed José Cruz at home in Monday's second inning at Houston. But the Astros won, 6-4.

Rogers Subdues Braves on 6-Hitter

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

ATLANTA — Steve Rogers pitched a six-hitter and delivered a run-scoring single as Montreal edged the Braves, 5-3, here Monday night. Rogers (5-1) raised his lifetime record against Atlanta to 12-9, including 10 of his last 11 decisions, but had not won in six previous decisions at Atlanta Stadium, the only National League park where he had failed to win.

BASEBALL ROUNDUP

The Expos scored twice off Rick Camp (3-3) in the second inning. They loaded the bases when Al

Oliver singled, Gary Carter walked and Tim Lincecum blooped a single to center. After Chris Speier struck out, Bryan Little's sacrifice fly scored Oliver and Rogers followed with his RBI single.

The Expos scored in the fifth when Tim Lincecum walked, stole second and came home on the third of Warren Cromartie's five hits. Carter hit his fifth home run of the year in the eighth, and singles by Raines and Cromartie plus a throwing error by shortstop Rafael Ramirez gave the Expos a run in the ninth.

Cromartie, who had hits in his last two at-bats in his previous game, tied club records with five hits in a game and seven consecutive walks.

Washington, D.C. — The Braves held the Braves hitless until Dale Murphy singled with one out in the fourth. Bob Horner followed with a double and Murphy scored when Rogers pitched wild.

The Braves added a run in the seventh when Chris Chambliss tripled and scored on Glenn Hubbard's single and another in the ninth on Chambliss's sixth homer of the season.

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Giants 5, Cardinals 4
In San Francisco, pinch hitter Dave Bergman singled in the second of two ninth-inning runs that gave the Giants their sixth consecutive victory, a 5-4 decision over St. Louis.

Pirates 5, Padres 3
In San Diego, Jason Thompson's fifth hit of the game, a two-run double in the 14th, helped Pittsburgh break a five-game losing streak with a 5-3 victory over the Padres.

Red Sox 5, Angels 2
In the American League, in Boston, Bob Stanley pitched 6 1/2 innings of shutout relief as the Red Sox downed California, 5-2. In lowering his league-leading earned-run average to 1.11, Stanley improved his record to 3-2. Reid Nichols went 4-for-4 with a homer, two doubles and two RBIs. Wade Boggs batted in the winners' other two runs. In his last seven outings, comprising 15% scoreless innings, Stanley is 2-0 with five saves.

Astros 6, Mets 4
In Houston, Phil Garner's two-out, two-run double highlighted a five-run fifth and Frank LaCorte pitched four innings of one-hit relief to lead the Astros past New York, 6-4. Trailing, 4-0, the Astros sent nine batters to the plate in the fifth to rout rookie Rick Ownby (0-3).

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SPORTS BRIEFS

Orono Keeps Title on Decision

CARACAS (AP) — Rafael Orono of Venezuela retained his World Boxing Council super-flyweight crown here Monday night with a unanimous 12-round decision over top-ranked Raul Valdez of Mexico. There were no knockdowns in Orono's second title defense.

NBA Bulls Fire Coach Westhead

CHICAGO (AP) — Paul Westhead was fired Tuesday after coaching the National Basketball Association's Chicago Bulls to a 1982-83 record of 28-54, their second-worst ever. It was Westhead's first season under a multiyear contract, but only his second-season salary was guaranteed. Westhead led Los Angeles to the 1979-80 championship. The Lakers were 54-28 in 1980-81, but were upset in the playoffs by the Houston Rockets. Eleven games into the 1981-82 season, the Lakers fired him.

Chinese Win Table Tennis Crowns

TOKYO (UPI) — Guo Yuehua of China defeated countryman Cai Zhenhua to retain his world men's singles title Monday at the World Table Tennis Championships, while Cao Yimhua of China turned back South Korean Yang Young Ja to take the women's crown. China won all but one of the seven titles contested during the 12-day event.

NBA Approves Franchise Sales

CHICAGO (AP) — The National Basketball Association Monday approved the sale of the struggling franchises in Cleveland and Indianapolis to local businessmen, in each instance a pair of owners. The Cleveland Cavaliers and the Indiana Pacers were given conditional approval on the purchase of the Indiana Pacers from Sam Nessel and Frank Mariani, pending further documentation requested by the league.

For the Record

EAST RUTHERFORD, New Jersey (AP) — Birmingham's Scott Norwood kicked five field goals to set a United States Football League record and Herschel Walker of New Jersey was held to a career-low 28 yards as the Stallions beat the Generals, 22-7, here Monday night.

BOSTON (AP) — Former Red Sox slugger Tony Conigliaro, hospitalized for more than a year after a heart attack, underwent surgery Monday to remove part of a collapsed left lung.

Transition

BASEBALL American League
BOSTON — Placed Julio Valdes, infielder, on the restricted list. Recalled Barry Bonds, outfielder, from Pawtucket of the International League.

CHICAGO — Recalled Britt Burns, pitcher, from the disabled list. Options Steve Mura, pitcher, to Denver of the American Association.

MINNESOTA — Sent Ben Hoes, pitcher, to the American Association. Recalled Greg Harris and Brad Lesley, pitchers, from Indianapolis.

FOOTBALL National Football League
ATLANTA — Signed Rich Dwyer and David Fries, linebackers, and Kevin Griffin, offensive end.

NEW ORLEANS — Signed Dennis Winston, linebacker.

N.Y. GIANTS — Signed Mike Yessou and Ron Verrelli, centers; Carlos Corney, Kurt Wray and Phil McCombs, wide receivers; Tom Moore, Mark Stone, Curtis Allen, defensive linemen; Rick Wray, Dan Short and Ricky Green, defensive backs; and Dave Brown and Jeff Frazier, running backs to free agent contracts.

ST. LOUIS — Signed Mark Duce, defensive tackle, to a series of one-year contracts.

SEATTLE — Signed Don Dow, offensive tackle, to a series of one-year contracts.

WASHINGTON — Signed Darvyn Grant, defensive tackle, to a series of one-year contracts.

Major League Standings

NATIONAL LEAGUE

EAST

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Philadelphia	15	9	.625	—
Montreal	14	10	.583	1 1/2
St. Louis	14	10	.583	1 1/2
Pittsburgh	10	14	.417	5
New York	7	17	.292	7 1/2
Chicago	8	16	.333	7 1/2

WEST

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Los Angeles	21	7	.750	—
Atlanta	19	9	.680	2
Cincinnati	14	15	.483	7 1/2
San Francisco	13	15	.464	8
San Diego	12	16	.430	9
Houston	13	19	.406	11 1/2

AMERICAN LEAGUE

EAST

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Boston	16	10	.615	—
Baltimore	15	12	.556	1 1/2
Toronto	14	13	.519	2 1/2
Milwaukee	13	12	.520	3
Cleveland	14	13	.519	3 1/2
New York	10	14	.417	5 1/2
Detroit	10	14	.417	5 1/2

WEST

	W	L	Pct.	GB
California	16	12	.571	—
Los Angeles	14	12	.538	2
Texas	14	12	.538	2
Oakland	14	13	.519	3 1/2
Chicago	12	14	.462	5 1/2
Minnesota	12	14	.462	5 1/2
Seattle	11	16	.406	7 1/2

Monday's Baseball Line Scores

AMERICAN LEAGUE

California	6	Los Angeles	4
Boston	5	Baltimore	3
Toronto	4	Milwaukee	3
Cleveland	4	New York	3
Detroit	4	Chicago	3

NATIONAL LEAGUE

Philadelphia	5	Montreal	3
St. Louis	4	Pittsburgh	3
New York	3	Chicago	2
Los Angeles	4	San Francisco	3
San Diego	4	Houston	3

Baseball Leaders

NATIONAL LEAGUE

Batter (44 of 44): Schmidt, Phil, 344	
Pitcher (44 of 44): Niekirk, Tom, 355	
Team (44 of 44): Philadelphia, 344	
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